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*Foundation Myths and
Politics in Ancient Ionia*

NAOÍSE MAC SWEENEY

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Foundation Myths and Politics in Ancient Ionia

This book examines foundation myths told about the Ionian cities during the archaic and classical periods. It uses these myths to explore the complex and changing ways in which civic identity was constructed in Ionia, relating this to the wider discourses about ethnicity and cultural difference that were current in the Greek world at this time. From an examination of their foundation myths, it emerges that the Ionian cities rejected the oppositional models of cultural difference which set in contrast East and West, Europe and Asia, Greek and Barbarian, opting instead for a more fluid and nuanced perspective on ethnic and cultural distinctions. The conclusions of this book have far-reaching implications for our understanding of Ionia, challenging current models of Greek ethnicity and identity, and suggesting that there was a more diverse conception of Greekness in antiquity than has often been assumed.

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Foundation Myths and Politics in Ancient Ionia

by

NAOÍSE MAC SWEENEY



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Abbreviations

Abbreviations for classical texts, corpora and journals are those used in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. S. Hornblower, A. Spawforth, and E. Eidinow, 4th edn (Oxford 2012).

<i>BNJ</i>	<i>Brill's New Jacoby</i> . Editor in chief I. Worthington (the original numbering for fragments and testimonia is used in this book – see <i>FGrHist</i> – but <i>BNJ</i> references for the updated notes by a range of contributors)
<i>CIG</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptorum Graecarum</i>
<i>CTH</i>	Laroche, E. 1971. <i>Catalogue des textes hittites</i> . Paris: Klincksieck
<i>Eklogē Historiōn</i>	In Vol. 2 of Cramer, J. A. 1835–7. <i>Anecdota Graeca</i> . E. codd. <i>Manuscriptis Bibliothecae regiae parisiensis</i> (4 vols.). Oxford: E Typographeo Academico
<i>Etym. Magn.</i>	<i>Etymologicon Magnum</i>
<i>FGrHist</i>	Jacoby, F. 1923–58. <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> (fragments can often be accessed online through <i>Brill's New Jacoby</i>)
<i>GEF</i>	West, M. 2003. <i>Greek Epic Fragments from the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries BC</i> . Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
Graham	Graham, D. W. 2010. <i>The Texts of Early Greek Philosophy: The Complete Fragments and Selected Testimonies of the Major Presocratics</i> . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
<i>IACP</i>	Hansen, M. H. and T. H. Nielsen (eds.) 2004. <i>Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis</i> . Oxford: Oxford University Press
<i>I.Chios</i>	MacCabe, D. F. and V. J. Brownson. 1986. <i>Chios Inscriptions: Texts and Lists</i> . Princeton: Princeton University Press
<i>I.Didyma</i>	Wiegand, T., Rehm, A. and R. Harder. 1958. <i>Didyma. Zweiter Zeil: Die Inschriften</i> . Berlin: Gebr. Mann

IEG	West, M. 1972. <i>Iambi et Elegi Graeci</i> . Oxford: Oxford University Press
I.Ephesos ¹	Engelmann, H., D. Knibbe and R. Merkelbach. 1980. <i>Inscriptionen von Ephesos. Teil III</i> . Bonn: Rudolph Habelt
I.Ephesos ²	Börker, C. 1980. <i>Inscriptionen von Ephesos. Teil v</i> . Bonn: Rudolph Habelt
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
I.Kyme	Engelmann, H. 1976. <i>Inscriptionen von Kyme</i> . Bonn: Rudolph Habelt
I.Magnesia	Kern, O. 1900. <i>Die Inscriptionen von Magnesia am Maeander</i> . Berlin: Walter de Gruyter
I.Milet ¹	Rehm, A. and P. Herrmann. 1997. <i>Inscriptionen von Milet. Teil 1</i> . Berlin: Walter de Gruyter
I.Milet ²	Herrmann, P. 1998. <i>Inscriptionen von Milet. Teil 2</i> . Berlin: Walter de Gruyter
I.Milet ³	Herrmann, P., W. Günther and N. Ehrhardt. 2006. <i>Inscriptionen von Milet. Teil 3</i> . Berlin: Walter de Gruyter
I.Priene	von Gaertringen, F. H. and C. J. Fredrich. 1968. <i>Inscriptionen von Priene</i> . Berlin: Walter de Gruyter
KST	<i>Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı</i>
LGNP	<i>Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i>
Matthews	Matthews, V. J. 1974. <i>Panyassis of Halikarnassos</i> . Leiden: Brill
ML	Meiggs, R. and D. Lewis. 1989. <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century BC</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press
Milet 1.3	Rehm, A. and G. Kauerau, with contributions from F. Hiller von Gaertringen, M. Lidzbarski, T. Wiegand and E. Ziebarth. 1914. <i>Das Delphinion in Milet. Milet 1.3</i> . Berlin: Georg Reimer
M-W	Merkelbach, R. and M. L. West. 1990. <i>Hesiodi Theogonia, Opera et Dies, Scutum: Fragmenta Selecta</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press
Radt	Radt, S. 1985. <i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta, Vol. 3: Aeschylus</i> . Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht
RO	Rhodes, P. J. and R. Osborne. 2003. <i>Greek Historical Inscriptions, 404–323 BC</i> . Oxford: Oxford University Press

SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
SGDI	<i>Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften</i>
Steph Byz	Stephanus Byzantinus
Tod	Tod, M. N. 1933. <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press

Preface

This book is not a comprehensive account of the foundation myths of the Ionian cities. There are several publications that already offer this for some individual cities, and I would not wish to duplicate this work. Instead, this book aims to offer a new approach to these stories, reassessing the social significance of foundation myths in Ionia during the archaic and classical periods (roughly between the seventh and the fourth centuries BC). I am interested not so much in what these myths can tell us about the actual origins of the Ionians as in what they tell us about the Ionian world view and in particular the way the people of Ionia conceived of cultural difference.

I have used both Greek and Roman spellings for names, sacrificing consistency in favour of common usage. Ancient names for places are used in most cases, save for occasional reference to the location of archaeological sites, where Turkish and Greek toponyms are used as appropriate.

This book has developed out of research that I undertook whilst I was a Research Fellow at Fitzwilliam College, University of Cambridge. I am very grateful to the Master and the Fellows of Fitzwilliam for allowing me the opportunity to pursue this research, and also to live and work alongside them in the College. I am also indebted to the Faculty of Classics in Cambridge for generous support in the form of travel grants and research expenses. Finally, I am also grateful to Colin Haselgrove and all of my current colleagues at the University of Leicester for their support and encouragement for the completion of this book.

I am also grateful to a number of individuals who have helped me to develop my ideas about foundation myths and Ionia. Without them, this book would be much poorer. I have benefited greatly from their experience and insights, and the book has been much improved by our many debates, comparative perspectives and differences of opinion. Foremost amongst these are my colleagues who also work on ancient Ionia, who have been kind enough to share their expert opinions and current research with me. I am particularly grateful to Alexander Herda, Michael Kerschner and Olivier Mariaud, all of whom have commented on early drafts of my work and have done their best to improve it. I also owe a great debt to Robin

Osborne, Lin Foxhall, Irad Malkin, Graham Shipley, Renaud Gagné and Kostas Vlassopoulos. All of these people have all generously given of their time, exchanging ideas and offering plenty of sound advice. Any errors, blunders or flaws in reasoning this book may contain have occurred despite their best efforts, and are purely my own.

I am also grateful to all the people and institutions that have contributed to putting this book together. Natalia Vogeikoff-Brogan, the archivist from the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, and its director, Jack Davis, have both been extremely kind in giving up their time and sharing their expertise when I was investigating the American excavations at Colophon. I am also grateful to the School for permission to reproduce photographs from these excavations, and to Andrew Reinhard at the School for permission to reproduce the Colophon plans. Amalia Kakissis from the British School at Athens has been similarly helpful, as has Emma Darbyshire at the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge and Anja Slawisch of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Istanbul. I am also grateful to the individuals who have allowed me to use their images in this book: Michael Kerschner, Hermann Kienast and Hans Lohmann. I also owe thanks to Michael Sharp, the anonymous reviewers, and the team at Cambridge University Press, for all of their valuable input into this book. I am also grateful to my endlessly patient husband for helping me with the literature in Italian.

Special thanks are also due to my father, who was a patient, good-humoured and supportive companion on a particularly exciting research trip to Ionia in autumn 2011.

1 | Introduction: identity and the construction of cultural difference

τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ψυχροῖς τόποις ἔθνη καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην θυμοῦ μὲν ἔστι πλήρη, διανοίας δὲ ἐνδεέστερα καὶ τέχνης, διόπερ ἐλεύθερα μὲν διατελεῖ μάλλον, ἀπολίτευτα δὲ καὶ τῶν πλησίον ἄρχειν οὐ δυνάμενα: τὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν διανοητικὰ μὲν καὶ τεχνικὰ τὴν ψυχὴν, ἄθυμα δέ, διόπερ ἀρχόμενα καὶ δουλεύοντα διατελεῖ:

The peoples [ἔθνη] of the cold places and around Europe are full of spirit, but more lacking in intelligence and skill; and so it results that they are free, but are politically disorganised and not able to rule their neighbours. The peoples of Asia are intelligent and skilful of mind but spiritless; so it results that they are ruled over and enslaved. (Aristotle, *Politics* 1327b 23–6)

Aristotle's vision is of a world structured by opposites. Humanity is divided into two, each the mirror of the other. Europe and Asia are presented as being in direct opposition to each other – not only geographically and climatically, but also culturally and politically. This bipartite distinction is one that we still recognise in the twenty-first century. The idea of a 'clash of civilisations' features both in contemporary political rhetoric and current popular discourse. It appears in the speeches of world leaders, the pronouncements of social commentators, and the writings of academics and journalists. Like Aristotle, we often seek to understand cultural differences through binary oppositions. And like Aristotle, we often depict our world in terms of Us and Them.

The oppositional model of cultural difference is now so widespread that we sometimes assume it to be universal. It has been said that 'the tendency to think in terms of two worlds recurs through human history'.¹ When it comes to cultural models in particular, it is argued that there is 'a strong tendency towards dualism in most parts of the world'.² This binary division of the world has been variously conceptualised as East and West,³ Orient and Occident,⁴ North and South,⁵ or the West and the Rest.⁶ In each case, however, the opposition between Us and Them remains. Anthropological

¹ Huntingdon 1996: 32. ² Mazrui 1990: 13. ³ E.g. Morris 2010. ⁴ E.g. Said 1978.

⁵ E.g. Thompson and Reuveny 2010. ⁶ E.g. Huntingdon 1996; Ferguson 2011.

and social theories offer an explanation of this phenomenon, and have established that it is an important part of identity formation. It is now widely held that the idea of Self has little meaning without the idea of the Other; that the concept of Us bears little weight unless it is placed opposite a concept of Them.⁷ Such oppositional identities were once assumed to be both natural and inevitable, arising automatically from geography, climate or biology. Racial theories and environmental determinism posited that cultural differences were explicable in terms of inescapable natural causes.⁸ The fallacy of such approaches has long been recognised, and it is now widely acknowledged that identities are neither automatic nor inborn, and do not depend on the prior existence of either biological/racial or cultural differences. Instead, identities are socially constructed, given meaning and significance through complex cultural processes of differentiation and affiliation. One of the most important and widely discussed of these cultural processes is the differentiation between Us and Them, between Self and Other.⁹ Making these distinctions allows us to define the boundaries of an identity group, establishing criteria for belonging and exclusion. Cultural traits such as language, religion, social norms and daily practices are the means by which such boundaries are created, negotiated, expressed and maintained. Cultural differences are not, therefore, the passive reflections of identities, but rather the active means of their construction.

While discrimination and boundary creation are vital components of identity formation, this does not necessarily result in cultural difference being conceptualised in terms of binary opposition. Constructing a sense of Us and Them does not have to entail a singular Self ranged in direct opposition to a singular Other. It is possible instead to recognise a range of many different Others, a plurality of other identity groups in addition to one's own. Instead of thinking in terms of the West and the Rest, for example, it is possible to think in terms of a more plural global structure comprised of multiple geo-political zones – perhaps including Europe, North and South America, East Asia, the Middle East, Africa and Central Asia. There is no abstract necessity to conform to Aristotle's vision of a

⁷ The literature on this subject is both broad and rich, and so this point will not be addressed in detail in this book. The social construction of identities with respect to a symbolic Other has been widely discussed with reference to both modern and historical examples, and is now generally accepted within the humanities and social sciences. See for example Barth 1969; Cohen 1985; Jenkins 1997; Cohen 2000.

⁸ There is a rich historiographical literature tracing the rise and fall of racial theories and the distinct but connected theory of environmental determinism. See Peet 1985 and Malik 1996: 39ff.

⁹ Processes of affiliation have received less academic attention than processes of discrimination and the drawing of boundaries. See Vermuelen and Govers 2000; Jenkins 2008.

janiform cultural order, seeing the world as split into two, with ourselves on the one hand and everyone else lumped together on the other. Instead, it is possible to opt for a more nuanced and complex view. While social and psychological processes of identity formation, therefore, do explain the conceptual need for Self and Other, they do not account for the tendency to construe this Self and Other in terms of binary opposition.

Frequently, this tendency has been explained by historical precedents. The Western intellectual tradition, it is argued, has inherited the inclination towards binary opposition from classical antiquity. This was famously argued by Edward Said in his influential book of 1978, *Orientalism*. Orientalism, Said argued, is the phenomenon by which Western culture created a stereotyped image of 'the East' as the opposite of 'the West'. Said pointed out that cultural constructions in areas such as literature, the arts and academia were a crucial part of creating this stereotype, promoting the idea of a weak, decadent and exotic Orient in direct contrast to the vigorous and masculine West. Said's arguments have found many critics as well as champions, and the idea of Orientalism has spawned a rich and varied debate.¹⁰ Although the book *Orientalism* focused primarily on later European traditions, Said traced the practice of Western Orientalist stereotyping back to classical antiquity, claiming that it was in classical Greece in particular that this model of cultural opposition had its original root. Said selected two Athenian tragedies to illustrate his point: Aeschylus' *The Persians* and Euripides' *Bacchae*.¹¹ He argued that these two plays set the agenda for later Western Orientalism: firstly by clearly distinguishing Europe from Asia; and secondly by investing this distinction with social, cultural and moral associations.

Since Said, classical scholars have explored the issue of ancient Orientalism further, and it has been confirmed that an oppositional model of cultural difference was indeed a feature of the classical Greek mind-set. East and West, Europe and Asia, Greek and Barbarian – these are the oppositions that emerge time and again from the ancient sources.¹²

¹⁰ Said has been criticised on many counts, including factual inaccuracies, for unfairly characterising 'Orientalist' disciplines, and for creating an essentialised and stereotyped view of 'the West' in the same way that he criticised others doing for 'the East'. However, *Orientalism* remains an extremely important work, and its core ideas are still valid. Said has developed his thinking further since 1978 (see Said 1993 and the Afterword of the 1995 edition of *Orientalism*). For works influenced by Said, criticising Said and discussing the wider Orientalism debate, see Lewis 1993; MacKenzie 1995; Macfie 2000; Irwin 2006; Varisco 2007.

¹¹ Said 1978: 56–7.

¹² Early proponents of this view were Hartog 1980 and Hall 1989. The idea has been taken up and elaborated since. See for example Cartledge 1997; Isaac 2006; Mitchell 2007: 77ff.; Kim 2009.

We have already seen an assertion of Aristotle's dualistic perspective on culture and geography.¹³ Similar ideas are frequently found in works of political theory and public oratory, works that explicitly set out to make political commentary.¹⁴ However, they are also evident in the other cultural forms. Classical drama, and especially tragedy, often draws a binary cultural distinction, characterising the Orient as effeminate, decadent and cowardly, but at the same time exotic, threatening and tyrannical.¹⁵ Similar images appear in the writings of classical Greek historians, and Greek victories over Eastern foes are often explained with reference to the weakness and cowardice of the enemy.¹⁶ Visual sources are also testament to this wider trend. Representations of Easterners in vase painting¹⁷ and the public art of Athens¹⁸ depicted them as the antithesis of the manly and moral Greek. One especially vivid illustration of this trend comes from a pseudo-scientific text from the Hippocratic corpus known as *On Airs, Waters, Places*.¹⁹ The author of this treatise draws a sharp distinction between the continents of Europe and Asia, not only in terms of geography and climate, but also of race, culture and society. Indeed, the latter are described as being dependent on the former:

περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀθυμίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῆς ἀνανδρείας, ὅτι ἀπολεμώτεροί εἰσι τῶν Εὐρωπαίων οἱ Ἀσιηνοὶ καὶ ἡμερώτεροι τὰ ἥθεα αἱ ὥραι αἴτιαι μάλιστα, οὐ μεγάλας τὰς μεταβολὰς ποιούμεναι οὔτε ἐπὶ τὸ θερμὸν οὔτε ἐπὶ τὸ ψυχρόν, ἀλλὰ παραπλησίως.

Concerning the lack of spirit and manliness of the people [ἀνθρώπων], the main reason that the Asians are less warlike and more civilised than the Europeans is the seasons of their homeland, which do not make great changes either towards heat or cold, but are similar to [each] other. (*On Airs, Waters, Places* 16)

In a range of different classical sources, therefore, the Orient is indeed constructed in terms of opposition to Greece, Europe and the West. It should be noted that this opposition did not reflect or represent the entire range of Greek relationships with the East. Indeed, actual interactions

¹³ See also Aristotle, *Politics* 1252b–1254b. For the Aristotelian theory of natural slavery, see Garnsey 1996 and Shields 2007.

¹⁴ For ethnic stereotyping in fourth-century oratory, see Ziolkowski 1994. For the rhetoric of democracy and freedom in the classical period more generally, see McGlew 1993. For Athens in particular, see Rhodes 2004; Low 2005; Osborne 2010.

¹⁵ This point was famously argued by Hall 1989. For a detailed discussion of Aeschylus, see Harrison 2000, and for the representation of democracy and tyranny as racially specific forms of political organisation, see Goldhill 2002.

¹⁶ For the womanish physical weakness of the Persians, for example, see Xenophon, *Hellenica* 3.4.15; Xenophon, *Agesilaos* 1.28; and Plutarch, *Cimon* 9.5.

¹⁷ Hall 1993; Miller 2000; Lissarrague 2002. ¹⁸ Castriota 2000 and 2005.

¹⁹ For the pseudo-scientific justifications for ethnic stereotyping as 'proto-racism', see Isaac 2006.

between Greece and the East were much more complex than these stereotypes suggest.²⁰ Objects, styles, customs, ideas, technologies and people regularly moved back and forth between Greece and its eastern neighbours, and the Near East can be shown to have had a crucial formative influence on the development of Greek culture from the Iron Age through to the classical period.²¹ Even at the height of anti-Persian rhetoric in classical Athens, Persian styles in material culture and the visual arts were still highly regarded. Indeed, in the public sphere Persian architectural influences are evident on the monuments of the great Periclean building programme in Athens, while private citizens also made use of Persian objects, styles and practices to articulate both status and sophistication.²² Subscribing to the oppositional model of cultural difference, therefore, did not preclude close interactions with or cultural borrowings from the East. On a practical level, classical Greece was a part of the wider eastern Mediterranean and Near Eastern world, linked into wide-ranging networks of trade, communication, cultural exchange and political interaction. But despite the realities of integration and interaction, the model of dualism and the ideology of cultural opposition prevailed. Indeed, the tendency towards binary opposition seems to have been so strong and so popular that they have sometimes been seen as a structuring principle underpinning classical Greek society.²³

But can we confidently explain our own tendency to binary opposition as an intellectual inheritance from classical Greece? Was the dualistic mind-set really inevitable, a universal psychological construct established during antiquity and therefore inescapable in our own time? This book argues otherwise. Our understanding of classical Greece is dominated by Athens, and our sources for the period mostly reflect a particularly Athenian perspective. While this point is generally acknowledged amongst classicists and ancient historians, it has yet to be considered in relation to the oppositional model of cultural difference. Athens may well have subscribed to a

²⁰ Cartledge 1997 and Said 2002 both argue this point explicitly.

²¹ This topic has been discussed extensively in the existing literature, and I will not attempt a summary here. This literature includes Burkert 1992; Morris 1992; West 1999; Whitley 2001, chapter 6; Riva and Vella 2006; Gunter 2009; Rutherford 2009; Vlassopoulos 2013. The 'Black Athena' debate is also relevant here: see Bernal 1987–2006 and 2001; Lefkowitz and MacLean Rogers 1996; and Orrells et al. 2011.

²² The classic work exploring the phenomenon of Persianising trends in classical Athens is Miller 1997. Also relevant is Hagemajer Allen 2003.

²³ Note for example the title of the 1997 book by Paul Cartledge: *The Greeks. A Portrait of Self and Others*. The argument that Greek society was conceptually structured along sets of binary opposites was a central feature of the Structuralist School, which was particularly prominent in French scholarship of the 1960s–80s. Key scholars within this school include Marcel Detienne, Jean-Pierre Vernant and Pierre Vidal-Naquet.

binary world view, but this was not necessarily the case for others throughout the classical Greek world.²⁴

This book focuses on one particular group of Greeks who do seem to have understood the world in a very different way. The Ionian cities were a group of thirteen (originally twelve) city-states located in the eastern Aegean islands and the western coast of Anatolia, an area that is generally referred to as Ionia (Figure 1). These cities are considered to be an integral part of the Greek world, and many famous developments in Greek culture – from the Homeric poems to philosophies of natural science, from early sculpture to monumental architectural forms – can be located in Ionia. Despite having many close connections with Athens, the people of Ionia did not adhere to the Athenian model of cultural difference that cast the world in terms of binary oppositions. Instead, they conceptualised cultural differences in a much more fluid, flexible and heterogeneous way. The Athenian model may have become stronger over time, and may have echoed over the centuries to leave its imprint on the more modern Orientalism discussed by Said. However, during the archaic and classical periods, this model was challenged by the people of Ionia. This book is dedicated to their dissenting voices.

²⁴ Vlassopoulos 2013 counsels against assuming that Greeks interacted with non-Greeks and perceived cultural difference in a single, monolithic way. He goes further than the argument laid out in this book, and suggests that not only the Ionian cities but the Greek world more generally also did not comprehend cultural difference in terms of binary opposition. While I would generally agree with this view, the aim of this book is to establish this point for the Ionian cities in particular through detailed analysis of their foundation myths. See also Skinner 2012 for a discussion of the diversity of the Greek ethnographic imagination.

2 | Foundation myths and politics

Foundation myths are one of the crucial ways in which we construct and negotiate cultural difference. The stories that we tell about who we are and where we come from are a means of defining our identities, and positioning ourselves in relation to everyone else. Deliberately or unconsciously, as individuals or as groups, we use foundation myths to frame our political interactions. This is true not just of Politics with a capital 'P' – the Politics of nation-states and international relations. It is also equally true of politics with a small 'p' – the politics of individual interactions in everyday life. Of course, the past is inherently political. This has been demonstrated in many academic studies in the fields of anthropology, archaeology, classics, history, politics and reception studies, as well as being evident from contemporary experience.¹ We use the past to understand the present. But the political power of foundation myths goes beyond that of other types of historiography or heritage.

Foundation myths, by their very essence, are concerned with the beginnings of things. A foundation myth for a given place or people must necessarily be located before the rest of its history – the foundation has to come first, before anything else can happen. The primacy of foundation myths is one key factor that makes them especially politically potent. Over the course of history, many events and episodes can be said to have an impact on collective identity. However, none is so fundamentally crucial to the very existence of a group as its origins. Where, why and how a group comes into being is the basis from which all else springs – it establishes what the group *is* at its very essence. The primacy of foundation myths also means that they often are invested with particular emotional and symbolic significance. They are important because people *feel* that they are important. This

¹ The broader literature on this point across disciplines is extensive, and will not be discussed here, save to mention a few classic texts: Anderson 1983; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1992; Gathercole and Lowenthal 1994. The point is also widely discussed in relation to archaeology and cultural heritage: see Tilley 1993; Atkinson et al. 1996; Diaz-Andreu and Champion 1996; Kohl and Fawcett 1996; Meskell 1998; Barkan and Bush 2002; Diaz-Andreu 2007. The politicised use of classical antiquity by European nation-states from the Enlightenment onwards is a particular case of this: Rawson 1991; Davis 2000; Hingley 2000; Martindale 2006; Hamilakis 2007; Bradley 2010.

emotional attachment is another reason why foundation myths have a political value that is hard to match. The final reason why foundation myths are especially politically significant is their explanatory force. They are ‘Just-So’ stories, aimed at rationalising the connection between the past and the present. They discuss sequences of events in the past that led to the social and political configurations of the present, setting out the processes of how things came to be. Foundation myths, then, are extremely potent tools for the construction of identity and the negotiation of cultural difference. Their primacy, their emotional value, and their structures of explanation all contribute to their extraordinary political power.

The study of ancient foundation myths is a diverse but perennially popular field. The body of evidence is rich, and the nature of the evidence exciting. Perhaps counter-intuitively, most of the scholarship on ancient Greek foundation myths does not consider them alongside ritual, cult and other forms of myth.² Instead, they have generated a literature of their own, more closely connected to the study of ancient historiography. As already noted, foundation myths claim to explain the beginnings of things: of cities, dynasties or ethnic groups. This claim to historical explanation has encouraged many scholars to see foundation myths as a form of proto-history. It has long been acknowledged that modern notions of ‘myth’ and ‘history’ are not always applicable in antiquity. The distinction between the two – the former being fictive and legendary, the latter being historically accurate and ‘true’ – is far from a human universal. Indeed, it is evident that our modern understanding of historical truth and our ideas about the function of historiography are not the same as those of the archaic and classical periods.³ Thucydides, often considered to be a champion of historical accuracy and a strong critic of false historiography, illustrates this vividly.

² An exception to this is Detienne 1990. Many different approaches have been adopted towards Greek myths more generally: see Bremmer 1987; Dowden 1989; Edmunds 1990; Buxton 1994. One approach that does not relate directly to foundation myths is that of seeing mythology as part of an inherited cultural system, preserving echoes of prehistoric stories, e.g. Burkert 1979. Another approach that is less directly relevant here is seeing myths as allegories for social organisation and popular morality, e.g. Detienne 1986; Vernant and Vidal-Naquet 1988; Sourvinou-Inwood 2005.

³ It has often been remarked that it is modern terminology that labels foundation stories as ‘myths’, with all the associations that the word implies. There is a rich literature on Greek ideas about historiography, historical truth and the processes of composing historical works. For the classical period, much of the discussion unsurprisingly focuses on Herodotus and Thucydides. See for example Finley 1975; Hunter 1982; Fornara 1983, chapter 3; Hornblower 1994; Hartog 2000; Thomas 2000; Greenwood 2006; Foster and Lateiner 2012. It is argued that the lines between fact and fiction, belief and believability were less starkly drawn in the Greek world. See Clarke 2008, chapter 5, and Patterson 2010. A similar argument was put forward in Finley 1975.

He explicitly states his opinion that speeches in historiography were important not as verbatim reports of words actually spoken, but rather as a record of the things that needed to be said in the circumstances (τὰ δέοντα – ‘the necessary things’: Thuc 1.22.1). What actually happened was less important than what ought to have happened. For the fourth-century orator Gorgias, truth in speech or argument was synonymous with proper composition and order (κόσμος – ‘order’: *Encomium of Helen* 1). For poets of the archaic period such as Mimnermus, Archilochus and Simonides, recent battles were just as appropriate a subject for poetic verse as legendary wars. Overall, there is perhaps less interest in fact and accuracy than we might expect, and more interest in ‘truth’ in a more abstract sense. For an archaic or classical audience, truth may lie not so much in the detail of the stories you told, but rather in the principles and ideas you communicated.

The complex nature of the relationship between myth and history has led to a debate in classical scholarship between the two dominant schools of thought concerning foundation myths.⁴ Traditional readings of Greek foundation myths assumed a positivist approach. The idea was that you could read a foundation myth and it would tell you about what actually happened, shedding light on real historical events. It was assumed that accounts of the original foundation would have been passed down through the collective social memory through the generations, until the time when the stories were written down as myths. These myths, it is argued, might sometimes be distorted through the processes of oral transmission, perhaps with some imaginative additions and elaborations over the years.⁵ However, at the core of the story, it is argued, should lie a kernel of historical truth. Foundation myths, therefore, could essentially be taken at face value, and efforts could be made to uncover the elements of historical truth within them. Such efforts involved seeking corroborating sources of various kinds, such as literary sources that recounted similar tales; epigraphic or other evidence for later social organisation that might match details of the foundation myth (e.g. tribal divisions, names of months, festival calendars etc.); and archaeological evidence that could be interpreted as supporting the general story of the myth. This approach has commonly been applied to the foundation myths of the Ionian cities, and in particular the myth of the

⁴ Hall 2008 offers a brief sketch of trends and schools in the study of Greek foundation myths, identifying three main approaches. The third of these is a judicious compromise position between the two schools discussed here, such as that advocated in Kerschner 2006a.

⁵ For the likely relationship between oral tradition and history, see the agenda-setting book Vansina 1985. For examples relating to Homeric poetry, see Morris and Powell 1997 and Sherratt 1990. For the functioning of oral traditions in classical Greece, see Thomas 2000.

Ionian Migration. The myth itself will be discussed in more detail in [Chapter 7](#). It has been widely assumed that the story of the Ionian Migration is at some level factually accurate. Many scholars over centuries of study have sought to strip away the distorting ‘noise’ from the reliable information, establishing a core of historical fact preserved within the literary accounts of the myths.⁶

A contrasting approach to ancient foundation myths emerged in the late twentieth century. Building on postmodernist theories and literary criticism, there has been a shift towards seeing foundation myths as social constructs rather than as documentary history. This approach emphasises the strategic function of foundation myths and their political use in Greek society.⁷ As we have already established, all historical writing, and foundation myths in particular, are imbued with a high degree of symbolic and political potential. The texts that recount these myths are not dispassionate documentary chronicles, recording the past in an even-handed and neutral way. Instead, they are complicated literary creations, their form and content carefully tailored in accordance with certain agendas and expectations. It is argued that questions of fact, fiction and historical accuracy are not the most useful way of approaching foundation myths. Instead, the constructivist approach focuses primarily on the social function and significance of these myths, and the way that they both were shaped by and had an impact on wider contemporary society. It has long been established in literary and archaeological theory that texts, ideas and objects have agency.⁸ This agency means that foundation myths are not passive objects reflecting social realities, but active subjects that influence and create social realities. It is argued, therefore, that foundation myths can tell us more about the time in which they were written than the time that they were written about. This constructivist approach has also often been applied to the myth of the Ionian Migration. It has been noted that the idea of the Ionian Migration did not emerge properly until the classical period. Prior to this, individual myths of various migrations coexisted, but were not combined into a coherent, overarching narrative. It has been widely accepted that Athenian imperial ambitions in Anatolia were a major motivating factor behind this process

⁶ See for example Bilabel 1920: 2–3; Momigliano 1933; Lenschau 1944; Roebuck 1955 and 1961; Sakellariou 1958: 39–76; Huxley 1966; Cook 1975; Emlyn-Jones 1980: 10–16; Herda 1998; Gorman 2001: 14–43; Finkelberg 2005; Sourvinou-Inwood 2005; Vanschoonwinkel 2006; Lemos 2007; Niemeier 2007a; Herda 2009: 67–101.

⁷ See for example Finley 1975; Malkin 1987, 1994 and 1998; Brillante 1991; Hall 1997 and 2008; Gehrke 2001; Calame 2003 and 2009; Cobet 2007; Patterson 2010; Foxhall et al. 2010; Griffiths 2011: 198ff.

⁸ For theories of agency, see Butler 1997; Gell 1998; Dobres and Robb 2000; Gosden 2005.

of mythopoesis, given that Athens could use the myth of the Ionian Migration to claim the privileged position of mother-city of the Ionians.⁹

The tension between proponents of these two approaches mirrors a wider debate in the humanities between positivist and constructionist approaches more generally. This debate has often been quite bad-tempered and fraught, and the study of ancient foundation myths has been no exception in this respect. In the case of ancient foundation myths, the problem is compounded by disciplinary divides. In general, constructionist approaches dominate literary and historical studies of ancient foundation myths, whilst positivist approaches are more commonly found in the writings of archaeologists. Counter-intuitively, some of the most aggressive critiques of the positivist approach have been made by archaeologists themselves, who occasionally attack the chimera of the atheoretical literary historian as a proxy for positivist approaches within their own discipline. As well as disciplinary divides, the positivist–constructivist debate is also connected to different scholarly traditions, which sometimes have a tendency towards one approach or the other. The anglophone academic tradition, for example, has produced many vocal champions of constructivism.

The terms of the debate have served to distance the two sides from each other, sometimes artificially. In actuality, there is often more overlap between approaches than the polemics might suggest. On the one side, most proponents of the positivist approach would argue that biases and strategic literary constructions should be taken into account when considering foundation myths. This stance is common in work on the Ionian Migrations, and the apparent pro-Athenian bias in the texts has often been countered by arguing that migrants arrived in Ionia from other regions of the Aegean as well as Attica.¹⁰ Conversely, most proponents of the constructivist approach would accept that it is possible for some historical elements to have found their way into the myths. Some very basic aspects of the Ionian Migration myth fall into this category. Given the evidence for trade, cultural interaction and personal mobility in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages, most constructivists would accept that it is highly likely that some people from elsewhere in the Aegean did indeed settle in Ionia. The debate itself is not particularly helpful, and does a disservice to the

⁹ The cacophony of Ionian foundation myths prior to Athenian expansionism, and the instrumental use of the myths, has been posited by Nilsson 1951 (who argues that Athenian expansions started under Peisistratos before the establishment of the Delian League); Hall 2002: 37 and 67–71; Kowalzig 2005: 49–51; Cobet 2007; Crielaard 2009; Greaves 2010.

¹⁰ E.g. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff 1906; Sakellariou 1958: 75–6; Huxley 1966; Prinz 1979: 373–4; Kerschner 2006a; Lemos 2007.

ancient sources. Instead, recent scholarship on the subject has called for a cautious middle way, making use of both literary and archaeological sources where relevant in a critical way.¹¹

For the purposes of this book, my approach necessarily tends towards the constructivist. My focus is not on the actual origins and initial establishment of the Ionian cities, but rather on the construction of cultural difference in these cities during the archaic and classical periods. This issue of the origins and early history of Ionia will not, therefore, be addressed in this book. It is a separate topic which warrants detailed treatment elsewhere. However, it is worth briefly noting that information about the Early Iron Age (EIA) gained from texts written in the archaic and classical periods may not be particularly illuminating. Stripping the stories down to a historically reliable core may indeed be possible, but this would mean that only the most basic elements remain. To return to the example of the Ionian Migration: to argue that people were mobile in the EIA and some settled in Ionia is not a surprising conclusion, and one that we do not need recourse to literary sources to reach. More can be learnt about the EIA of Ionia from archaeological evidence, and any enquiry into the actual foundation of the Ionian cities must focus primarily on archaeology. The main interest of this book is not the EIA, but rather the archaic and classical periods, and in particular in the stories written during these later periods. I will consider the Ionian foundation myths primarily as texts, and use them to investigate what we can learn from them about the construction of cultural difference in archaic and classical Ionia. Indeed, to reduce the myths to passive transmitters of historical fact would be to rob them of much of their social significance. The time period considered in this book was many generations removed from that discussed in the stories, and questions of fact and fiction are less salient than questions of tradition and innovation.

However, it should be recognised that foundation myths were more than simply vessels for political propaganda. The social significance of foundation myths extends beyond the cynical manipulation of politicians or strategists. As already mentioned, foundation myths have a deep emotional appeal, and it is important to consider the wider reception and understanding of these stories as well as their immediate strategic value. The case of the fifth-century Athenian politician Cimon and the bones of the hero Theseus can be used to illustrate this point.¹² After bringing the island

¹¹ E.g. Kerschner 2006a and Hall 2008.

¹² For the cult and figure of Theseus at Athens, see Kearns 1989; Shapiro 1992; Walker 1995. For Cimon and Theseus' bones, see Podlecki 1971; Shapiro 1992; Goušchin 1999. It has been argued that Cimon may have sought to link his own family tree to that of Theseus, and that the figure of

of Skyros under Athenian control, Cimon apparently discovered the grave of Theseus on the island, and brought the bones back to Athens in triumph for interment in a special shrine (Plutarch, *Cimon* 8.5–6 and *Theseus* 36; Pausanias 1.17.6 and 3.3.7). For Cimon, the recovery of Theseus' bones may well have been a complex publicity stunt, designed to win popularity at the expense of his political rival Themistocles. However, the way that Cimon's actions were understood and received by the wider public is also significant. Why was the return of the bones so popular? Why did the people of Athens react so positively to Cimon's claims? This is not so much an issue of how gullible people may have been. Rather, the return of Theseus' bones would have been a potent symbol of triumph and a new beginning for the Athenians. The transformation of the city following the devastation of the Persian Wars, the spread of Athenian power and the establishment of the Delian League all marked the start of a new phase for Athens. It was highly appropriate that the city's symbolic founder, Theseus, was returning at the moment when the city was re-establishing itself. It was also highly appropriate that as the city began to adopt an expansionist outlook, it embraced an expansionist founding hero. The wider popularity of Theseus in Athens at this time is suggested not only by the reported popular support for the return of the bones and the dedication of a new shrine. The figure of Theseus is especially popular in the decorative arts of the classical period, in particular on black- and red-figure pottery. In addition, the Athenians celebrated the festival of the Sunoikia, commemorating the occasion when Theseus brought together the villages of Attica into one political entity (Thuc 2.15.2). The story of Cimon bringing home the bones of Theseus is not, therefore, one of a shrewd politician inventing a myth to suit his own purposes, but rather of a shrewd population gauging the Zeitgeist and making use of myth to tap into it. It is therefore not just the foundation story that is significant – the literary account of Theseus founding Athens by effecting the Sunoikism of the Attica villages. The wider foundation tradition is also important – the wider cultural responses and context of the story, to include visual arts, cult practices and onomastic trends, as well as the activities of politicians such as Cimon.

The foundation tradition is important because it allows us to consider the wider appeal of these stories, and the ways in which the general population may have encountered and perceived them. This question of popular perception is crucial when considering Greek foundation myths. It is instructive to take into account not just how people responded to the

Theseus could have been used to play up the importance of the Battle of Marathon (where Cimon's father Miltiades presided) over the Battle of Salamis.

myths that were told, but also what kinds of stories people were willing to accept in the first place. What went beyond the limits of acceptability, and what kinds of stories were people keen to embrace? Why could you get away with some variations and fictions and not others? Why did some stories become particularly popular while others fell out of favour? With all these questions, the answers do not lie either in any putative historical accuracy or in the Machiavellian machinations of the political elite. Rather, they depend on the mood within the wider population at any given time – the collective self-perception of the community more generally, and the sum total of what different groups and individuals within society may have thought about themselves. Foundation myths are therefore located in and constrained by perceptions about cultural difference as well as acting to construct these perceptions. They are therefore extremely useful for understanding attitudes towards cultural difference. The social and historical context of foundation myths is absolutely central in this. So too, however, is the full range of foundation myths themselves.

In antiquity, most cities, states and people did not have one single, standard origin myth. There were usually many different variations of the same story, and sometimes even completely different stories altogether. Various different accounts were told at various different times, and some authors even recorded multiple stories at once. The general rule seems to have been that there were several different accounts of an origin or foundation circulating at any one time. In traditional interpretations of foundation myths, this plurality is explained away by assuming that classical authors were confused over the historical facts or uncertain about ‘what really happened’. However, this approach does not address the social significance of having several stories simultaneously in circulation. A variety of foundation myths implies a variety of outlooks and perspectives. The claim that the Athenians were autochthonous and the alternative claim that they were Ionians and Hellenes descended from the eponymous heroes Ion and Hellen, for example, implied two very different conceptions of what it meant to be Athenian.¹³ One view would stress the uniqueness and distinction of the Athenians from other Greeks, whilst the other would highlight their connections to other Greeks. These two alternatives initially seem to be mutually exclusive. However, the existence of the two different foundation stories contemporaneously with each other is not necessarily

¹³ The idea of autochthony is relatively unusual in the Greek world. See Malkin 1994. For discussion of Athenian origin myths and claims about their past, see Rosivach 1987; Blok 1990; Loraux 1993 and 2000; Boedeker 1998; Shapiro 1998.

problematic. The Athenians do not need to be *either* autochthonous *or* Hellenic. Counter-intuitively, they can be both, equally, and at the same time. If we no longer read foundation myths as relating to historical truth, and if we no longer seek to uncover the reality behind the stories, the two options cease to be mutually exclusive. The alternative myths can be told in different contexts, for different audiences, for different reasons. One may be appropriate in a context where the other would not. The stories can be used in parallel, in a complementary rather than a competitive way.

But seemingly opposed foundation stories can be even more closely connected than just complementarity and running in parallel. They can speak to each other directly, addressing each other in a wider discourse of foundations. In a situation like that of Athens, where several alternative stories existed for one foundation, none of the various alternatives would be told in ignorance of the others. Instead, each story would have been told, heard and understood in the context of the others, and it would have gained social meaning in relation to them. The myth of Athenians being an autochthonous people is significant in that it constructs a close relationship between the Athenians and the land of Attica that they inhabited. But this story gains an even greater significance by being told in opposition to its alternative. The myth works to distance the Athenians from the other Greek groups, explicitly separating them out and marking them as being different. It suggested not only that the Athenians had a close relationship to their land, but that they had a privileged one – they were born of the earth whilst other Greeks were merely migrants. In addition, the story gives the Athenians a different origin from their neighbours. They could claim to be distinct and superior, of purer lineage and independent ancestry. The reasons why the myth of autochthony might be told are closely tied up with the reasons why the alternative myth of Ionian Greek ancestry might be told. This latter story would link the Athenians with other Ionian groups elsewhere in the Greek world, making them one stem of a much larger family. Each of these stories – of autochthony and of Ionian ancestry – had its ideological benefits and pitfalls. But the full weight of telling one story can only be felt if we take into account the deliberate choice *not* to tell the other.

For this reason, it is important to think more widely than simply focusing on specific foundation myths or traditions. It is important to think in terms of the foundation discourse: the full range of different alternative stories told about a place or a people, the full range of the different popular responses to these stories, and the ways in which the different stories support, add nuance, or even contradict each other. In order to understand Athenian identity in the classical period, the foundation tradition of Theseus must be

seen alongside the foundation traditions of autochthony and of descent from Ion.

Foundation myths are both powerful and flexible. In antiquity they offered a rich language in which to articulate identities and negotiate politics. They engaged with historiography, geography and cult. They allowed for composite traditions and open discourse. It is no wonder, then, that foundation myths were used widely in the archaic and classical Greek world. This was a world of independent city-states (*poleis*: sing. *polis*) – all interacting, collaborating, clashing and jostling for position. Foundation myths in this context were a valuable Political resource (with a capital ‘P’). They were a means of creating connections between different states, and positing a link between cities in the distant past was frequently a prelude to a formal alliance in the present. Ancient kinship or ancestral friendship could be used to garner support for contemporary agreements. But these stories were also powerful political phenomena (with a small ‘p’). They were a means by which diverse and multicultural populations sought to understand themselves and their own collective community identities, providing rallying points for local cult or civic events and offering a rationale for civic structures and customs. Both of these political levels are important, and both contribute to the construction of cultural difference. A range of source material is also relevant. Literary texts and epigraphy tell us the stories themselves, as well as giving accounts of the way they were deployed politically. The archaeological record tells us about the popular reception of these stories, expressed in arenas such as hero cults and civic iconography. Over the course of this book, therefore, I will use literary, epigraphic, visual and archaeological material together to examine how the Ionian cities used foundation myths to construct their own identities, as well as to negotiate cultural differences.

Introducing Ionia

Ionia lies along the traditional interface between Europe and Asia, Orient and Occident ([Figure 1](#)). It is here, where the Aegean Sea washes up along the indented Anatolian coastline, that different continents, cultures and peoples have come together to meet and interact over the centuries. This interaction has always been rich and varied: there has been trade and commerce; migration and integration; war and conquest; diplomacy, friendship and intermarriage. As with any border zone, it is this movement, meeting and mixing that gives Ionia its special characteristic flavour, both in the present day and for much of the region's history. Today the region is a thriving part of modern Turkey. A vibrant tourist economy brings international visitors in droves, and the fertile agricultural land combined with local industry has made the metropolis of Izmir a busy hub for shipping and international trade. Ionia now straddles the continents with ease, incorporating elements from both sides of the divide seamlessly into its local fabric. This richness and diversity can be seen just as clearly in the region's past. Mycenaean, Hittite, Arzawan, Carian, Lydian, Phrygian, Hellenic, Cimmerian, Persian, Athenian, Spartan, Macedonian, Roman, Gaul, Greek, Seljuk, Ottoman, Venetian and Genoese are just some of the many groups who have left their imprint on Ionia's dynamic and ever-changing landscape. It is one of the world's oldest and longest-standing melting pots.

Ionia's status as a vibrant border zone depends largely on its location, caught between two major geo-cultural blocs: the European West and the Asian East. However, these two blocs have not always existed. There was a time before the idea of the continents came into being, before the world was conceptually divided into separate parts. In the previous chapter, we have already established that all these ideas (East, West, Europe, Asia) are social constructs. As categories, they are neither natural nor automatic.¹ Instead,

¹ The development of these concepts has been extensively explored in many important works already, and is not discussed in detail here. See for example Lewis and Wigen [1997](#); Pagden [2002](#); as well as Said [1978](#).



1. Map of Ionia.

they are arbitrary distinctions, drawn up at specific points in history for specific reasons. Of course, it should not be assumed that because of their artificial nature these distinctions are not important – on the contrary, they are of great significance in the world today, and they have influenced the way that people have lived, interacted and thought about themselves for many centuries. However, it should nonetheless be recognised that these distinctions are artificial in the true sense of the word. They are human artifices: created, shaped and given meaning by human agency.

The genesis of these distinctions can be traced back to the late archaic and early classical periods of Greece. The idea of the continents emerged only gradually over the course of the eighth to the sixth centuries BC, and for

some time it seems that the definition of the continents was fairly fluid. There was disagreement over where the boundaries should lie, and whether there were areas that were exempt from the continental system altogether.² For some thinkers, the very idea of distinguishing the separate continents was in itself ridiculous.³ Around the same time as the concept of the continents was emerging, other related ideas were also developing in parallel. Crucially, the idea of an ethnic division between Greeks and non-Greeks also emerged at this time, and cultural, ethnic and social expectations gradually became associated with the new continental categories. The idea of Europe became linked with the concept of a vigorous and energetic West, personified in the works of Greek authors as the manly and freedom-loving Hellene. In direct opposition to this, the idea of Asia became closely intertwined with that of the exotic and luxurious Orient, the wise mystic, the decadent and degenerate Barbarian.⁴ The continents were therefore not just geographical terms – they brought along with them a whole range of social and cultural associations as well. Even today, being European often means something more than simply living in Europe; it also implies a way of life and certain cultural expectations.⁵ In archaic and classical Greece, therefore, it was not just the idea of the continents that was being invented, but also the basic blueprint for continental stereotypes. Early forms of what Edward Said would later label ‘Orientalism’ were beginning to emerge.

What of Ionia during this period? The invention of these new ideas had major implications for the region. Previously, Ionia had been a fertile and productive region with good connections to communication routes on both land and sea. Although the Ionian cities are today known as Greek *poleis*, in the archaic period they were not exclusively or incontrovertibly Greek. Greek was indeed spoken in Ionia, but so too were local Anatolian languages

² Aristotle argued that Greece did not belong to either Europe or Asia (*Politics* 1327b). To revisit the main argument of [Chapter 1](#), it is perhaps interesting to note that even while Aristotle seems in many places to argue for a binary understanding of the world, in this particular instance he actually undermines the binary model of cultural difference by positing a tripartite division of Europe, Asia and Greece.

³ See, for example, Herodotus 2.16, 4.36 and 4.42.

⁴ It has been argued that the concept of the barbarian pre-dates the Persian Wars and can be found in the archaic period (e.g. Vlassopoulos 2013). While there was certainly a recognition of cultural difference, however, this can be distinguished from the development of the concept of the Barbarian with a capital ‘B’: the stereotyped image of all non-Greeks as constituting a single category.

⁵ The debates around modern European identity abound, and while people rarely agree on what European-ness might mean, they usually agree that it exists. For some discussions, see Delanty 1995; Mikkeli 1998; Cederman 2001; Pagden 2002; Amin 2004; Sassatelli 2007; Checkel and Katzenstein 2009; Eder 2009.

such as Carian and Lydian. Greek ancestry was indeed claimed by the Ionian cities, but so too was native and indigenous lineage. Overall, there is strong evidence for Ionia being peopled by a population that we might consider to be hybrid, the result of many mixed marriages and centuries of cultural exchange. People here had shared cultural traits and social practices with their neighbours in all directions, interacting closely with other groups both to the west and the east. Throughout the Iron Age and the archaic period, Ionia flourished. However, under the new scheme of geo-cultural classification that emerged in the late archaic and early classical periods, it now found itself all of a sudden perched on the precarious frontier of Greek Europe and Barbarian Asia, unexpectedly poised in an uncertain liminal place ‘between’.

Running north to south, the Ionian cities on the Anatolian mainland were Phocaea, Smyrna, Clazomenae, Erythrae, Teos, Lebedus, Colophon, Ephesus, Priene, Myus and Miletus. The island states were those of Chios and Samos. However, Ionia did not only consist of the landmass of Anatolia and the nearby islands. The sea was a crucial feature of the Ionian region, enabling connectivity and communication much more efficiently than the slower land routes.⁶ With the sole exception of Colophon, all the Ionian cities were built on the coast with easy access to good harbours and maritime routes. Not content simply with a coastal location, many of the Ionian cities were even built on peninsulas completely surrounded by the sea save for a narrow land access route (e.g. Phocaea, Erythrae, Teos, Lebedus, Myus and Miletus). In this context, the distinction between the continental and the island Ionian cities is not necessarily a valid one. Standing on the *acropoleis* of many of these cities, the view is such that it is hard to tell which parts of land are island and which peninsula, which are continental and which offshore, which are European and which Asian. The very geography of Ionia as a region demonstrates the problem with the idea of a strict divide between Europe and Asia. Here, in this intricate and complicated coastline, it is impossible to draw clear lines.

Not all of this coastline is Ionia, however. The Aegean shores of Anatolia stretch from the Troad in the north to Lycia in the south, but it is only the central part of this long coastline that comprises Ionia. The northern and southern extremities of the coast are different from this central portion, in their physical geography as well as in name. Just as the region of Ionia reached out into the sea with its long peninsulas and islands, so too did it reach inland into continental Anatolia, stretching up towards the Anatolian

⁶ This principle was suggested for the Mediterranean generally by Hordern and Purcell (2000), but has been specially applied to Ionia by Greaves (2010: 55).

plateau through its long river valleys. Three great rivers run from the plateau down to this central part of the Aegean coast – in ancient times known as the Maeander, the Cayster and the Hermos, and now known as the Büyük Menderes, the Küçük Menderes and the Gediz. These three valleys were vital corridors for trade and communication, connecting the Ionian cities with inland Anatolian settlements and enabling movement.⁷ They also contributed to the fertility of the land itself, with the rich silt from the rivers boosting agricultural production.⁸ The concentration of the Ionian cities around the mouths of these three great rivers is significant. It made different modes of interacting with the Anatolian interior possible, and allowed different economic patterns to emerge.

To the north and south of Ionia, other Greek-speaking groups had also established cities. In the north, Aeolian cities such as Pitane, Kyme, Larissa, and Myrina were dotted around both coast and plain (Hdt 1.149). To the south, the Dorian cities on the Anatolian coast, such as Halikarnassos and Cnidus, were matched by those in the Dodecanese islands, such as Cos, Lindos and Ialysos (Hdt 1.144). The distinction between the Dorians, Aeolians and Ionians is usually made on linguistic and ethnic terms. The three groups spoke different dialects of Greek, and were generally said to have been descended from different eponymous heroes.⁹ However, these tribal genealogies were not universally accepted, and at any given time there were Dorians who did not trace their ancestry back to Dorus, Ionians who did not put Ion at the head of their family tree, and Aeolians who did not hark back to Aeolus. Foundation myths and stories of origin rarely go uncontested. In addition, it seems that dialects also varied between individual cities – the Ionian spoken at Erythrae and Chios was different from that of Miletus and Priene, for example (see [Chapter 7](#)). But not only was there

⁷ See Greaves 2010: 50–2 for the main rivers and their valleys. See also Thonemann 2011 for a detailed and enlightening discussion of the Maeander valley from the Hellenistic to the Byzantine periods.

⁸ The silt eventually brought changes in geomorphology as well as farming success. Alluvial deposits over the centuries have radically altered the coastline of Ionia, which has retreated in front of a rising alluvial plain. Most notably, the Gulf of Latmos is now completely silted up, leaving the cities of Miletus, Priene and Myus – once harbour towns all – miles from the sea. See Greaves 2010: 59–65 for a discussion of this process and its impact on Ionia over time.

⁹ For an introduction to Greek dialects, see Colvin 2010. It is perhaps significant that some ancient authors thought of their dialect as distinct from their ethnicity. For example, Solon famously talked about Athens as the mother-city of all Ionians (not specifically referring to the Ionians of Ionia, but more likely the Ionian ethnos in general – F4a *IEG*), but also talked about the dialect of the Athenians being Attic, rather than Ionian (F36 *IEG*). Hall 1997 offers a detailed consideration of Dorians, Ionians and Aeolians as collective identities. He labels them ‘ethnic’ groups as membership is based on the notion of shared descent. Hall traces the way that relationships between the groups are symbolically constructed through mythical connections.

linguistic variety amongst the Ionians themselves, there was also some crossover between the dialects. For example, Herodotus wrote in Ionic dialect even though he was ostensibly a Dorian, and his home town of Halikarnassos inscribed public documents in Ionic script.¹⁰ In both ethnic and linguistic terms, therefore, the distinction between Ionians, Aeolians and Dorians on this coastline may not have been as marked as we might initially presume. Drawing the boundaries between the Hellenic groups of Anatolia was not a straightforward matter, any more than determining the line between Europe and Asia in this patchwork landscape.

Ionia and the neighbouring Aeolic and Doric areas were occupied not only by Hellenophones of various dialects, but also by a range of different non-Greek groups. In the far south, the Lycians were ruled by a series of independent dynasts, building grand cities such as Xanthos and developing their own unique forms of monumental funerary architecture.¹¹ The Carians to the north of the Lycians seem to have been a disparate group spread over a wide area of western Anatolia, living in settlements of their own such as Hydai and Labraunda as well as in the Greek-speaking cities.¹² North again were the Lydians, a strong land-based power with its capital at Sardis and an expansionist outlook to which we will return later.¹³ North once more were the Mysians, who are thought to have occupied the whole area of the Troad as well as the areas further east and south.¹⁴ These various Anatolian groups – the Lycians, the Carians, the Lydians and the Mysians – are thought

¹⁰ See ML no. 32 for a fifth-century example. For dialect interactions in Ionia specifically, see Crielaard 2009, 45–6.

¹¹ Bryce 1986; Keen 1998; Hüllden 2006. Herodotus 1.173 claims that Lycians are originally from Crete and were led to Anatolia by Sarpedon the son of Europa. See Bean 1978 for a picturesque but somewhat out-of-date guide to the archaeological sites of Lycia. For the Lycian language, see Melchert 2008b and Popko 2008: 93–102.

¹² For the Carians, see Blümel 2007, and papers in Rumscheid 2009 and van Bremen and Carbon 2010. For the Carian language, see Adiego Lajara 2007; Melchert 2008a; and Popko 2008: 103–8. Herodotus 1.171 gives a portrait of the Carians and explains that he considers them to be islanders originally, and previously called the Leleges.

¹³ Long-running excavations at Sardis have given us some reasonable understanding of the Lydian capital. See for example Greenewalt 1972; Ramage 1978; Hanfmann 1980; Hanfmann and Mierse 1983; Cahill 2000 and 2008; and Ramage and Craddock 2000. Roosevelt 2009 offers some valuable insight into Lydia beyond Sardis. For the Lydian language, see Gusmani 1964; Melchert 2008c; and Popko 2008: 109–17.

¹⁴ Mysia is most usually mentioned in the Greek sources as a place that was raided by the Achaeans accidentally during the Trojan War: see Hesiod, *Catalogue of Women* F165 M-W; Aeschylus F238–40 Radt; Euripides, *Telephus* F149. Although the archaeological work done in the Troad is extensive, there is to date no clear sign of a ‘Mysian’ set of material culture practices, although there is some evidence for the Mysian language (Strabo 12.8.3). It remains unclear whether Mysian is related to Lydian or Phrygian (Cox and Cameron 1932; Bayun and Orel 1988; Malay 1990 and 1999).

to be ethnically and linguistically distinct in much the same way as the Dorians, Ionians and Aeolians. Although all four of these Anatolian languages are known from inscriptions and graffiti, none is yet fully understood, and it remains unclear how much overlap there may have been in daily vocabulary.¹⁵ Indeed, we know relatively little about ethnic distinctions between these groups, and it is not completely clear whether such distinctions would have been recognised at all, as we have no surviving testament from a non-Hellenophone Anatolian source on the subject.¹⁶ It is even uncertain how cleanly the Anatolian groups can be separated off from the Greek ones. As we shall see over the course of this book, ‘Greek’ communities often included indigenous Anatolian elements, and ‘indigenous’ communities often included Greek cultural and social forms.¹⁷ The Hellenophone communities of the coastal cities were not always straightforwardly ‘Greek’, and the inland settlements were not always straightforwardly ‘Anatolian’.

Furthermore, intermarriage between Greeks and Anatolians seems to have been common. Herodotus ridicules those Ionians who claim to be of pure blood, pointing out that even according to their own accounts their forefathers had married local Carian women (Hdt 1.146). Herodotus’ ridicule of the ethnic purists may have come partly from his own experience: it is likely that he himself came from a family that was comfortable with the idea of a Carian heritage. Both his father and uncle had Carian names, and were called Lyxes and Panyassis respectively.¹⁸ Names alone cannot be taken as indicative of ethnicity, and having a Carian name does not indicate Carian identity any more than having a Greek name indicated Greekness. Much can be inferred about attitudes to Greekness and Carianness, however, by this example. It is significant that this Halikarnassian family were comfortable enough with both languages to choose both Greek and Carian names. Similarly, the famed sage Thales of Miletus also had a father with a Carian name: Examyas (Diogenes Laertius 1.22 and 29). The families of Herodotus and Thales were not alone in their easy hybridity. A fourth-century inscription

¹⁵ Melchert 1994; Woodard 2008. Lycian and Carian both seem to have been descended from the Luwian of the LBA, with Lydian having developed separately and Mysian sharing elements with both Lydian and Phrygian. It is unclear as yet how closely these four languages were related. What is clear is that they coexisted comfortably, and it seems that bilingualism or multilingualism was common.

¹⁶ Fragments do survive from a history written by the Lydian author Xanthos of Lydia. However, these brief snippets of texts offer us a limited understanding of his work, with little said on ethnic consciousness. In addition, Xanthos wrote his history in Greek for a Greek audience, which perhaps raises the question of how accurately he would have represented Lydian views.

¹⁷ For typically Greek cultural forms and social practices in Carian and Lydian cities, see below, and also Vlassopoulos 2013, chapter 6.

¹⁸ According to the *Suda*: s.v. Πανύσσις (Adler no. P 248). See Matthews 1974.

from Sardis is bilingual in Greek and Lydian, and marks the dedication of a man with a Lydian name, Nannas, who is described as the son of a man with a Greek name, Dionysopolis.¹⁹ Bilingual inscriptions in Greek and Carian are also known, including an example from Kaunos recording honours bestowed by the Kaunians on two Athenian individuals.²⁰

Drawing the line between Anatolian and Greek groups was just as difficult as drawing the lines dividing those Greek groups themselves. Whilst the names of groups such as the Ionians, the Carians and the Lydians have been preserved, it is not always clear who and what fitted into each of them. In several cases, it appears that these groups are not necessarily mutually exclusive – multiple spheres of belonging were possible for individuals and families. Certain cult practices and social norms also permeated these boundaries, so that these too could belong equally to Dorians and Carians, or to Aeolians and Ionians. This lack of distinction and uncertainty in boundaries is by now a familiar feature of this region. Here in western Anatolia and the eastern Aegean, it is unclear where the borders lay between Europe and Asia, between Greek and Anatolian, between Ionian, Dorian and Aeolian or between Lydian, Mysian and Carian. It can be no coincidence that debates about identity were especially fierce here. As we shall see over the course of this book, the identity games played by the various local groups here made use of complex and plural definitions, and undermined the idea of clear-cut categories. External groups, and in particular the powerful states of Athens and Sparta, also focused their debates on Ionia, using it as a grand theatre in which to play out a complex drama of power, identity and self-definition. The construction of cultural difference in Ionia was not only of interest to Ionians, but also to the wider Greek world.

The archaic and classical periods

During the archaic and classical periods between the start of the late seventh and the mid-fourth centuries BC, Ionia and the whole western part of Anatolia saw almost constant fighting, with different states and empires battling each other for control of the region. The struggle was not just over the political definition of the region, however, but also over its cultural and geographical definition. By labelling Ionia Asian or European, Greek

¹⁹ Briant 2002: 703.

²⁰ Adiego Lajara 2007 collects the known Carian inscriptions to date. See pp. 295–300 for the Kaunos bilingual, and 164 and also 287–9 for another bilingual stele in Athens.

or Barbarian, you were making a statement about who had rightful control of the region and where the region belonged. These concepts were widely debated, not just as theoretical issues in their own right, but also as proxies for more real-world questions about political control. The construction of cultural difference, in the form of ethnic stereotyping and geographical classification, was a powerful strategy in the shaping of political disputes.

In the early seventh century, a new dynasty (the Mermnads) came to power in Lydia, under the king Gyges. Gyges' reign marked the start of a long period of conflict in western Anatolia, riven both by local wars and by external invasions. Gyges himself set the tone, and began by campaigning against Miletus and Smyrna, and by sacking the city of Colophon. Under Gyges' successors, Lydia repeatedly waged war against not only these Ionian cities, but also attacked Priene, Clazomenae and Ephesus.²¹ Fragments of lyric poetry written by the Colophonian poet Mimnermus in the seventh century offer us a rare contemporary account of what it was like to fight the Lydians. Fragments describe topics such as the terrifying prospect of the Lydian army charging forward (F13a *IEG*), or the qualities of the ideal warrior (G14 *IEG*).

The Lydian campaigns continued throughout the seventh century and into the sixth, culminating in the reign of King Croesus. Croesus' appetite for conquest seems to have been vast. Herodotus tells us that he would not stop until all the Ionian and Aeolian cities agreed to pay tribute to him, whereupon he turned his attentions to other western Anatolian groups: Phrygians, Mysians, Paphlagonians, Carians and Pamphylians amongst others (Hdt 1.28). Croesus' bellicose nature eventually led him to declare war on Persia, which had by now expanded its borders to include central Anatolia. This encounter with the Persians was to prove fatal for the Lydian empire. Tangible evidence for these many Lydian campaigns in Ionia may perhaps be found in the archaeological record of Smyrna. At Smyrna, a clear destruction horizon shows that much of the city was burnt in a single catastrophic event around the end of the seventh century. Earthworks had been raised over the city walls, designed as siege architecture to allow an external attacker to breach the city's fortifications. The violence of the attack is also evident from the presence of numerous bronze arrows within the destruction layer, some still stuck in the walls into which they had been shot. These dramatic remains have often been interpreted as representing the sack of Alyattes, Gyges' great-grandson, who Herodotus reports once

²¹ Herodotus 1.15–26 details the campaigns of the various different Mermnad kings.

besieged and captured Smyrna (Hdt 1.16).²² This theory, however, cannot be proved one way or the other, and the identity of Smyrna's attackers will probably never be confirmed. But whether it was the Lydians or some other foe who burnt Smyrna, the destruction layer is nonetheless still testament to the violence and warfare that characterised the seventh century.

Despite the conflict with Lydia, there was a high degree of interaction and cultural exchange between the Ionian cities and their landlocked eastern neighbour.²³ Material culture styles were shared between the two, and the practices of each influenced the other. Fineware ceramics illustrate this trend, as although Ionian ceramics from the archaic period are usually categorised as 'East Greek', it was occasionally difficult to distinguish them from Lydian finewares.²⁴ Indeed, it even seems that some Lydian styles and practices were fashionable in the Ionian cities. Sculptures, terracotta figures and decorative arts indicate that Lydian styles of dress and bodily fashions were adopted in Ionia in the sixth century and viewed as being indicative of high status.²⁵ Furthermore, the irregular conflict with Lydia did not prevent the Ionians from prospering throughout the archaic period. Monumental temples were built during this period at many of the cities, such as the Heraion on Samos, the temple of Athena in Smyrna and the Artemision at Ephesus. In addition, many *poleis* embarked on costly and impressive civic works, such as the harbour mole and tunnel of Eupalinos on Samos, or the construction of Sacred Ways at Colophon and Miletus. Private citizens, as well as polis governments, also prospered, and this period also sees lavish dedications of monumental sculpture in sanctuaries as well as the construction of luxurious residences. Overall, the seventh and sixth centuries have been identified by some commentators as the 'Golden Age of Ionia'.²⁶

²² Details of a destruction layer at Smyrna can be found in Cook 1958–9: 23–5 and in more detail for the temple of Athena area in Cook and Nicholls 1998: 21–7. This destruction layer has been linked by the excavators to the sack of Alyattes.

²³ For the interactions between the Ionians and the Lydians in general, see Erhardt 2005 and Kerschner 2010.

²⁴ For a traditional discussion of east Greek styles, see Cook and Dupont 1998. For a more recent revision of the classification system using Miletus as a central point of reference, see Kerschner and Schlotzhauer 2005. It has been noted that east Greek pottery in general has many similarities with local Anatolian styles, and in particular Lydian (De Vries 2000: 356). It also appears that at some inland Anatolian sites, little distinction was made between Lydian and east Greek wares in terms of the way they were valued or used (Mac Sweeney 2011: 189–90).

²⁵ See Kistler 2012 for the argument that the Ionians were attracted to styles '*à la lydienne*', with no sense of these styles being tainted with associations of barbarism or oriental effeminacy. This was to change, however, gradually over the course of the classical period under the influence of political rhetoric from Athens.

²⁶ Akurgal 1962. See Greaves 2010 for a summary of various different aspects of life in archaic Ionia.

This prosperity remained despite the military and political turmoil in Ionia caused by Cimmerian incursions from the Caucasus. Cimmerian aggression may have contributed to the collapse of the Phrygian state at the start of the seventh century, and seems at least to have been a factor in its gradual demise. The Cimmerians also fought against the warlike Lydians, and became so strong that at one stage they sacked and burnt the Lydian capital, Sardis.²⁷ Indeed, Gyges eventually became so concerned about their raids that he wrote to the Neo-Assyrian king Ashurnasirpal asking for help against them. According to the Assyrian documents, the combined Assyrian–Lydian force seems to have been successful in defeating the Cimmerians, as Gyges later sent his Assyrian ally a gift of Cimmerian prisoners of war in chains.²⁸

The Persian invasion in 547 BC marked another violent landmark in western Anatolia's turbulent history. As mentioned above, Croesus' attack on the Persian Empire ended in his complete defeat, and the transfer of his painstakingly accrued territories to Persian control.²⁹ The Ionian cities seem to have held out against the Persians for a while longer, but were eventually subdued by the Persian general Harpagus. Harpagus besieged and reduced them one by one, throwing up siege works to breach their city walls.³⁰ Miletus alone remained untouched by the Achaemenid armies, as it had chosen to ally itself to Cyrus at an early stage, leaving the other Ionian cities to their fates (Hdt 1.143). The fierce fighting against Harpagus' armies seems to have taken its toll on the Ionian cities. The Phocaeans and the Teians are said to have abandoned their cities in large numbers, opting to found new colonies elsewhere rather than submit to the Persian yoke.³¹ The impact is perhaps most evident at Clazomenae, which seems to have had a brief gap in occupation around the time. For about twenty years, between about 550 and 530 BC, no new building work was carried out in the city, and

²⁷ The Cimmerians are thought to have been a nomadic group that lived in the Caucasus in the EIA, but who migrated into Anatolia because of pressure from other population movements on the steppe. Herodotus 1.15 tells the story of their attacks on the Lydians. For a sober analysis of the possible archaeological correlates of Cimmerian activity in Anatolia, see Hellmuth 2008.

²⁸ The Cimmerians appear in the Neo-Assyrian records as the Gimirri. See Cogan and Tadmor 1977 on the relationship between Gyges and Ashurnasirpal, and Ivantchik 1993 and Kristensen 1988 on the Cimmerians.

²⁹ For the Persian defeat of the Lydians, see Briant 2002: 35–6 (and also Hdt 1.76–91). For the Lydians under the Achaemenid Empire, see Dusinberre 2003, and for a more general view of Achaemenid Anatolia, see Nollé 1992; Davesne and Laroche-Traunceker 1998; Bakır and Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2001; Kaptan 2002; Delemen et al. 2007; Miller 2011; as well as relevant chapters in Sancisi-Weerdenburg and Kuhrt 1991; and Briant and Bourcharlat 2005.

³⁰ Briant 2002: 26–8 and Herodotus 1.162–70.

³¹ Phocaea: Herodotus 1.164–6 and Strabo 14.1.30. Teos: Herodotus 1.168.

no new graves were interred in the city cemetery.³² Perhaps, as some scholars have suggested, the population of the city fled and dispersed into the countryside until after the fighting was over. However, the abandonment of the site does not seem to have been complete, and there are still some signs of occupation, if not of much construction activity. But whether the gap should be interpreted as a decline in population, or simply a decline in the wealth and spending power of that population, one thing does seem clear. The Persian conquest does seem to have disrupted life at Clazomenae, destabilising normal patterns of building and burial in the city.

Peace did return, and in the early years of Persian domination many of the Ionian cities prospered. Clazomenae, for example, enjoyed a period of unprecedented building work, while Miletus is said to have been at the very pinnacle of its wealth and power.³³ This peace and prosperity was not set to last, and soon Ionia was plunged again into conflict. The Ionian Revolt, c. 499–493 BC, saw the cities of Ionia rise up against the Achaemenids with the help of Eretria and Athens. The revolt began when Aristagoras, the tyrant of Miletus at the time, borrowed soldiers and a fleet from Artaphernes, the Persian satrap in Sardis, to conquer the island of Naxos. Aristagoras' campaign was a failure, and Herodotus tells us that when he realised that he could not possibly pay back his debt to Artaphernes, Aristagoras decided to try to get out of it by inciting a revolt (Hdt 5.30–5). Having persuaded the other Ionian cities to join Miletus, Aristagoras also sought help from the Greek mainland, first trying unsuccessfully at Sparta (Hdt 5.49–54), and later persuading Athens to back him (Hdt 5.97). The revolt initially met with some success, with the rebels capturing and burning the new satrapal centre that the Persians had set up at the old Lydian capital, Sardis. However, this success did not last, and the Persians eventually crushed the Ionians and their allies at the naval Battle of Lade.³⁴ The six years of war, and the Persian retribution that followed it, seem

³² Ersoy 2007: 161 and 2004: 61–4. This close dating is made possible by the precise chronologies of imported Attic pottery at Clazomenae. For this material, see Tuna Nörling 1995: 25–9.

³³ For Clazomenae, see Ersoy 2007: 161 and Hürmüzlü 2004: 87. Herodotus calls Miletus at this time 'the glory of Ionia' (τῆς ἰωνίης ἥν πρόσχημα: Hdt 5.28). For Ionian prosperity more generally, see Georges 2000.

³⁴ For an account of the Ionian Revolt, see Herodotus 5.99–6.20. Modern views of the revolt have often cast it as an attempt by the Ionians to throw off the yoke of a tyrannical Oriental power (e.g. Burn 1962: 193–220; Tozzi 1978; Wallinga 1984; Cawkwell 2005). This interpretation has been shaped by Athenian anti-Persian rhetoric, and cannot be supported. Instead, it should be seen as one amongst many local revolts that happened across the Achaemenid Empire, motivated by the ambitions and jealousies of local dynasts (Walter 1993; Georges 2000; Vlassopoulos 2013, chapter 2). It has even been argued that there was no real unified 'Ionian Revolt' as such, but that the revolt was much more piecemeal a phenomenon than has usually been assumed (Neville 1979).

to have had a far greater impact on the Ionian cities than the initial Persian conquest. There is an abrupt break in the archaeological record of Clazomenae at exactly this time. The inhabitants shifted the location of their entire city, moving from their previous site on the shore to an offshore island that was more compact and defensible.³⁵ They did not return to the mainland until the fourth century.

But it was Miletus that underwent the most dramatic change following the Ionian Revolt. Persian retribution on the leading city of the revolt was harsh. A destruction layer is found across the city, in some places several metres deep. This burnt, ashy layer has been found in every area where excavations have been dug enough to uncover the archaic levels – residential and cult areas alike seem to have suffered the same fate.³⁶ In addition, the city's fortification wall was destroyed at the same time.³⁷ Herodotus describes the treatment of the Milesians as unusually harsh; most of the men were killed, the women and children were enslaved, the oracular sanctuary at Didyma was destroyed and plundered, and the remaining survivors from the city were deported and resettled on the banks of the Tigris (Hdt 6.19–20). However, it is evident that Miletus was not completely destroyed, given that a mere fifteen years later the Milesians are recorded as taking part in the Battle of Mykale (Hdt 9.99). There were clearly enough Milesians around with enough money and means to rebuild their city, and even to put it back in a strong enough position to raise an army. However dramatic the reduction of the city had been, it seems to have been neither complete nor total. Nonetheless, this was clearly a major event in the history of Miletus, and once again illustrates the violent and turbulent nature of this period in Ionia.

Soon after the conclusion of the Ionian Revolt in 493 BC, the first Persian expedition against mainland Greece was launched. The Achaemenid king Darius first sent his fleet against Eretria in retaliation for their support of the Ionian Revolt, and having reduced Eretria continued towards Athens. The Athenians met and defeated Darius' army at Marathon in 490 BC, topping off their victory with the legendary twenty-six-mile run from Marathon to Athens in order to face the remainder of the Persian army, which was sailing to the city.³⁸ With heavy losses and no longer having the element of surprise, the Persian army decided against a full assault on Athens at that moment and

³⁵ Cook 1953/4; Güngör 2004; Ersoy 2007: 169. The story is told in Pausanias 7.3.8.

³⁶ Burnt layer in the temple areas: Mellink 1974: 114; Gans 1991; Hölbl 1999. Burnt layer in residential areas: Mellink 1974: 114; Brinkmann 1990; Kerschner and Senff 1997.

³⁷ Müller-Wiener 1986; Cobet 1997.

³⁸ Herodotus gives us a detailed account of this first Persian campaign: 6.98–117. The twenty-six-mile run from Marathon to Athens gives us our modern sporting event, the marathon.

the fleet sailed home. Preparations began for a second campaign under the stewardship of Darius' son Xerxes. The launching of this campaign was slightly delayed by revolts in Egypt and Babylonia,³⁹ but the army was eventually dispatched in 480 BC by both land and sea. The Persian victory over the Spartans at Thermopylae was quickly followed by their capture and sack of Athens, which had been abandoned by its inhabitants.⁴⁰ From here on, however, the alliance of Greek states that opposed the Persians began to gain ground. After defeat at the naval Battle of Salamis, the Persian army began to withdraw from Greece in stages, their chief objective of reducing Athens and Eretria having been accomplished. The main bulk of the army left with Xerxes soon after Salamis, leaving a smaller contingent under the command of his general Mardonius. This contingent was later defeated in two battles which are said to have happened in two different locations on the same day – the Battle of Plataea and the Battle of Mykale.⁴¹ The latter of these took place on the slopes of Mount Mykale in Ionia, and marks a crucial turning point. The defensive alliance of Greek states now decided to take the offensive. They opted to take the fight to the enemy, and to attack Persian-held territories in Thrace, Anatolia and Cyprus.

Apart from the Battle of Mykale, until this point the Graeco-Persian Wars were not for the most part fought in Ionia. Of course, Ionians were compelled to contribute soldiers and ships to the Persian war effort, as were their Aeolian and Dorian neighbours.⁴² However, Ionia itself was not under

³⁹ Revolts in Egypt: Herodotus 7.1 and 7.7. Revolt in Babylonia: Briant 1992.

⁴⁰ Thermopylae has been the subject of much myth-making. The idea of a small heroic force of outstanding warriors holding back a much more numerous foe has widespread appeal, as does the concept of Spartan freedom-fighters sacrificing all in the face of murderous Oriental despots. Modern value-laden ideas about East and West, Europe and Asia, freedom and autocracy are all woven into this myth-making. For examples of this mythologising, see Miller 1998, Pressfield 1998 and Zack Snyder's 2006 film based on Miller's comic book, both entitled *300*. For critical analysis of this process of mythologising, see Harrison 2002 and Cartledge 2006. For an account of the battle itself, see Herodotus 8.202–33. For a general outline of the Persian Wars that avoids ethnic stereotyping and considers Greek inter-polis politics, see Vlassopoulos 2013, chapter 2.

⁴¹ Salamis: Herodotus 8.84–95. Plataea: Herodotus 9.33–71. Mykale: Herodotus 9.101–7. Although it is often claimed that the Greeks won the Persian Wars (and it is certainly part of Athenian political rhetoric to claim a glorious victory – see below), it is also true that the Persians were never comprehensively defeated. For the Achaemenids, the wars with Greece can only have been a series of small border disputes on the edges of their vast empire, and it is also true that the Persians succeeded in sacking the cities of Eretria and Athens, as was their initial goal. Achaemenid sources are conspicuously silent on the topic of wars with Greece, which is perhaps curious given their propensity to mention prominent royal victories. For the Achaemenid perspective, see Calmeyer 1987; Kurht and Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1987; Brosius 2000; Briant 2002; Kurht 2007.

⁴² Herodotus 7.93–5 tells us that the Dorians supplied Xerxes' navy with thirty ships, the Ionians with a hundred and the Aeolians with sixty.

dispute until this moment when the tide turned. At this point, the Greek alliance began to campaign in Anatolia, ostensibly to win back the region from the Persians and to 'liberate' the Ionians from Achaemenid rule. Throughout the 470s and 460s Ionia itself was a battleground, with troops led by the Athenian general Cimon rampaging through the region. Cimon and his army met with a good deal of success, culminating in the Battle of Eurymedon, where Persian forces were simultaneously defeated on land and at sea.⁴³ It was a period during which Ionia was yet again racked by conflict and violence. But the Battle of Mykale was not just a turning point which saw a Greek defensive alliance turn into an offensive one; it also heralded a shift in the nature of the Greek alliance itself. The Spartans, who had previously taken a leading role in the alliance, now decided to step back, and withdrew from the war altogether. Into this power vacuum came Athens, which re-shaped and re-formulated the alliance as the Delian League, so named because its headquarters was on Delos. The official aim of the League was to plunder the lands of the Persian Empire to gain recompense for the destruction that Greece had suffered at the hands of Xerxes' army.⁴⁴

During the two decades when the League was fighting in Anatolia, the Hellespont and Cyprus, Athens' influence over its allies gradually turned into direct control so that the Delian League effectively became an Athenian Empire.⁴⁵ Throughout the 470s and 460s the allies had been paying money into the treasury to finance the League's joint campaigns against the Persians. But the wars themselves were hardly joint operations. Most of the allies soon stopped sending soldiers and ships, opting instead for paying Athens a regular sum to cover their contributions. Military force soon became concentrated in the hands of Athenian generals such as Cimon, while riches gained from both the allies' payments and the spoils of war gave Athens economic power as well. Athens' dominant role in the campaigns also brought it political influence and the moral high ground, and it was not long before the city began to treat its allies like subjects rather than equals. As well as raiding Persian-held territories, the Athenians began to attack members of the League who were deemed to have deviated from its rules. Defection from the League was punished swiftly and ruthlessly, as was any shortfall in payments or failure to meet the stated payment levels. The most

⁴³ For the campaigns in Anatolia and the Athenian–Persian balance of power in Ionia and the surrounding regions, see Balcer 1997; Briant 2002: 554–62.

⁴⁴ As acknowledged in Thucydides 1.96.

⁴⁵ Thucydides describes the increasing dominance of Athens at 1.99. For the Athenian Empire, see Meiggs 1972; McGregor 1987; Osborne 2000; Low 2008; Ma et al. 2009.

infamous example of this was Athens' treatment of Melos in 416 BC. When the Melians resisted the Athenians, the decision was made to make an example of the island, killing all the adult men and selling all the women and children into slavery.⁴⁶ By this time, all pretence of equality had already disappeared, as the Athenian statesman Pericles had moved the treasury of the League from the island of Delos to Athens in 454/3. From this point onwards, there could have been no doubt that the Athenians were at the head of an empire rather than an alliance.⁴⁷

The idea of a righteous war against the dastardly Persian foe was central to both the foundation and the smooth operation of the Delian League. It was vital for holding the League together, and essential for maintaining Athenian dominance over the allies. The allied Greek states could be rallied around a rhetoric that sought to unite them in the face of a common enemy – a rhetoric which ranged the brave and freedom-loving Greek against the devious and degenerate Persian Barbarian. This rhetoric portrayed Athens as the legitimate leader of the Greek world. The glory of the victory at Marathon, coupled with the prominent role assumed by Athens in the new offensive wars, established Athens as Greece's champion against the Persians. As already mentioned, the stereotypes of the Greek and the Barbarian, the European and the Asiatic, were coming to prominence at exactly this time. This was no mere coincidence. The development of these stereotypes is directly linked to the geo-political events of the age. The stereotyping may have grown out of Greek fear in the face of Persian power, but it became fully developed during this period of Athenian dominance in the Aegean. Athens' power and status depended on the idea of war with Persia, and rested on the rhetoric of the Barbarian.

In the mid-fifth century therefore Ionia was not only the scene of many real battles between the Delian League and the Achaemenids, but also the setting for an intense ideological battle. The status of the Ionian cities as poised right on the border between Europe and Asia, and as sharing in both Greek and non-Greek pedigrees, meant that it was claimed variously by the Delian League and the Achaemenid Empire. Ionia was caught in both a symbolic and actual tug of war between larger imperial powers from the east

⁴⁶ Thucydides gives the fate of the Melians abruptly in 5.116. The preceding chapters are taken up with the 'Melian Debate' – a long discussion between the Athenian envoys and the Melians about the nature and morality of Athenian rule. The treatment of Melos was criticised even in Athens itself, and popularly regretted once the decision had been taken (Andocides, *Against Alcibiades* 22).

⁴⁷ It has been noted that Athens looked to Persia for inspiration when designing its mechanisms of imperial power. See Raaflaub 2009.

and the west. In 450/449 BC Athens and Persia are said to have concluded a peace agreement known as the Peace of Callias, which guaranteed the autonomy of the Ionian cities.⁴⁸ There is still some uncertainty over whether the agreement ever really existed, but whether it was signed or not, the Ionian cities in the following decades were far from autonomous. Both Athenian and Persian influence continued to be felt, to varying degrees. As members of the Delian League, it seems that what was effectively Athenian rule lay even more heavily on the Ionian cities than the ostensibly more direct rule of the Persians and Lydians had before it. Miletus, Myus, Clazomenae, Colophon, Erythrae, Samos and Chios all rebelled from Athens in the second half of the fifth century; Colophon even went as far as rebelling twice.⁴⁹ It is unclear what role the Persians played in these revolts, but it seems likely that the satrap continued to cast a long shadow indeed. During the rebellions at Samos and Colophon, the citizens of both cities are reported to have asked explicitly for Persian help against the Athenians (see [Chapters 5](#) and [6](#) respectively). Indeed, by the start of the fourth century it seems that many of the Ionian cities had fallen once more into the Achaemenid sphere of influence.

For many of the Ionian cities, the political and ideological instability of the time seems to have been detrimental. The archaeological remains yield relatively poor evidence for the fifth century. When compared to the impressive construction projects of the sixth century and the widespread building works of the fourth, the fifth century appears to have been a time when few were willing or able to invest in their cities. For some cities, the instability seems to have been such that civic construction all but stopped. The Clazomenians, for example, had moved the urban centre of their city from the mainland to an offshore island around the time of the Ionian Revolt, but notably did not return to the mainland at any stage in the fifth century.⁵⁰ Some scholars have suggested that this lull in Ionian building

⁴⁸ The controversy surrounding the Peace of Callias stems from the fact that it is never mentioned by contemporary writers, and is only known to us through the works of the later authors such as Isocrates (4.120 and 12.158) and Diodorus Siculus (12.4). However, the Peace goes unmentioned in Thucydides, the fourth-century historian Theopompus argued that the treaty never existed (*FGrHist* 115 F154), and Plutarch mentioned that it was much debated (*Cimon* 13.4). For a discussion, see Cawkwell 1997.

⁴⁹ These revolts against Athens will be discussed in more detail in [Chapter 5](#). Miletus and Myus: Meiggs 1972: 112–17 and 188; McGregor 1987: 61–4. Erythrae: Meiggs 1972: 112–17 and 351ff.; McGregor 1987: 61–4. Samos: Thucydides 1.115–17; Meiggs 1972: 188–92; McGregor 1987: 98–100. Colophon: Thucydides 3.34 and McGregor 1987: 82–3.

⁵⁰ See Güngör 2004 for a description of the remains on Karantina Island. While there were some structures built in the area of the old archaic city at this time, they were few and far between, and may have been warehouses rather than dwellings; see Ersoy 2004: 64–7.

activity is evidence of Athenian imperialism and economic oppression.⁵¹ Others, however, have pointed out that building work did indeed continue at several Ionian cities. On Samos and Chios, for example, new constructions are known from the fifth century, while at Miletus the urban core of the city was rebuilt following the destruction c. 500 BC. A lack of funds, therefore, does not seem to be the primary explanation for the change in Ionia's architectural record. Osborne notes that the fifth century does not so much see the end of all construction in Ionia as an end to large-scale projects for the building of monumental temples.⁵² Such projects had been relatively common in the sixth century, and so their absence in the fifth is conspicuous. Sanctuaries have long been recognised as playing a crucial role in constructing civic identity and fostering civic pride, and Osborne suggests that the pause in temple building indicates a shift of identity away from the polis in support of the central administration at Athens. However, given the frequent attempts by the Ionian cities to break away from the Delian League, it seems highly unlikely that they willingly chose to support the Athenian administration.

A possible alternative explanation presents itself from the stories of defection from the Delian League. These accounts almost all make reference to competing factions within the Ionian cities – some of whom supported Athens, while others favoured alliance with Sparta, or even Persia. This *stasis* within the Ionian cities, the factional infighting and the lack of civic unity, may perhaps go some way towards explaining the lack of temple building at this time – an activity which would have been charged with meaning for civic identity. If the citizens could not agree as to the fundamental character of their city, how could they set about monumentalising it in wood and stone? The lull in civic construction in the fifth century is perhaps partly indicative of economic oppression. But more than this, it also betrays the extent to which Ionia was affected by both political and ideological instability. It was not just outsiders who were quarrelling as to the status and identity of Ionia, it was the Ionians themselves.

The Ionians were not the only ones who objected to Athens' new imperial activities. Allies around the Aegean also revolted over the course of the fifth century, and Sparta watched Athens with growing alarm. The stage was set for a face-off between Athens and Sparta, a war that was to begin in 431 BC and ended only with the capitulation of Athens in 404 BC. Throughout the Peloponnesian War, Athens continued to exercise control over many of its

⁵¹ This issue is discussed in Osborne 2008. For examples of this argument, see Meiggs 1972: 270–1 and Balcer 1984: 414.

⁵² Osborne 2008.

allies, drawing them into the conflict. Of the Ionian cities, Samos played an especially large role in the effort against Sparta, holding out even after a temporary oligarchic coup in Athens in 411.⁵³ Indeed, Athenian and Spartan armies fought each other in Ionia during the course of the Peloponnesian War, adding to the chaos.⁵⁴ Amidst the to-ing and fro-ing, it seems that the Achaemenids may have used this period of Greek infighting to reassert their influence over some of the Ionian cities. In 396 BC, soon after imposing peace on Athens, the Spartan king Agesilaos embarked on a campaign to 'liberate' the Greek cities of Anatolia once more, implying that the Greek cities were under Persian control and therefore in need of liberation.⁵⁵ As Cimon had done before him, Agesilaos marched into western Anatolia, claiming it once more for Europeans, for westerners, for Greeks. From its bloody inception, the fourth century in Ionia looked set to be as violent as the fifth, sixth and seventh. Once more, Ionia was a contested territory, its valleys echoing with the footfalls of armies, and its conceptual place in the world disputed. Spartan influence in Ionia was to be shorter-lived than Athenian, however, and, beset by rebellions in mainland Greece and the islands, Agesilaos eventually made peace with the Persian king in 387 BC. Under the Peace of Antalcidas (sometimes known as the King's Peace), all of Anatolia was to revert to Achaemenid control, separating the mainland Ionian cities from their island compatriots from a political standpoint. After this point, the region more generally still saw conflict in the form of satrapal rebellions and Persian dynastic intrigues. Cyrus the Younger, the younger brother of the Achaemenid king Artaxerxes II, began his ill-fated rebellion in western Anatolia in 401 BC, the story of which is told in Xenophon's *Anabasis*. A few decades later, in 372 BC, the satraps of Caria and Lydia took part in the Revolt of the Satraps.⁵⁶ Despite the failure of the revolt, the satrap of Caria, Mausolus, managed to retain his position and go on to build his Mausoleum at Halikarnassos, famous as one of the wonders of the ancient world.⁵⁷ However, Ionia in this period ceased to be a contested region. Nevertheless, the legacy of Ionian between-ness was by now well established, after three centuries of territorial dispute.

⁵³ For Samos' enthusiastic participation in the Delian League, see Legon 1972 and Shipley 1987: 109–12.

⁵⁴ Meiggs 1972: 351–74.

⁵⁵ The story of these campaigns is told in Plutarch, *Agesilaos* 6ff. and Xenophon, *Agesilaos* 1.7ff.

⁵⁶ For the relationship between Artaxerxes and his satraps, see Briant 2002: 656–75.

⁵⁷ For Mausolus and the long-lived and powerful Hecatomnid dynasty of Caria, see Hornblower 1982a.

Ionia occupies a somewhat ambiguous position in the Greek world, defying easy categorisation. At one level, it is a core part of the central Greek heartland, the place where many key elements of what we consider to be Greek culture first emerged. But the cities of Ionia are simultaneously thought to be peripheral – colonies from mainland Greece, which were politically integrated within Near Eastern empires for much of the archaic and classical periods. The Ionian cities were *apoikia* (colonies) in one sense, but they were also mother-cities of colonies in the Black Sea and the central Mediterranean. They were both at the frontier of the Greek world and central to it. These problems of classification perhaps contributed to the multiplicity of origin myths and foundation stories that were told about Ionia. It cannot have been mere accident that our earliest known examples of Greek cultural ethnography, chronography and both narrative and universal history all come from the region around Ionia.⁵⁸

Sources for Ionian foundation myths

The Ionian cities were to a large extent Greek speaking, and are usually classified as ‘Greek’ by both ancient and modern commentators. An explanation was therefore needed to make sense of the Greekness of the Ionians in a land mostly populated by non-Greeks. The explanation most usually offered (again by both ancient and modern commentators) is that the Ionian Greeks migrated to Anatolia from the west side of the Aegean in the distant past, and settled in communities which later became the Ionian *poleis*. The theory of the ‘Ionian Migration’ must be a major focus for any treatment of Ionian foundation myths.⁵⁹ This theory claims that Ionia was peopled at some stage during the EIA (eleventh or tenth century BC) by colonists from Attica. These colonists moved to Anatolia in a single mass population movement, led by the sons of the Athenian king Codrus. Once they arrived, they are said to have separated into several groups and established the Ionian cities. It should be noted that there is no single canonical text that recounts the complete story of the Ionian Migration. Instead, the myth has been reconstructed by modern scholars from a

⁵⁸ Cultural ethnography: Hecataeus of Miletus. Chronography: Hellanicus of Lesbos. Universal history: Ephorus of Kyme. Narrative history: Herodotus. See Pearson 1939. These Anatolian developments in Greek textual culture are discussed in Vlassopoulos 2013, chapter 5.

⁵⁹ The Ionian Migration will be dealt with in more detail in Chapter 7. For a general introduction to the stories of the Ionian Migration, putting them in the context of the stories of the Dorian invasion and other mythical migrations, see Osborne 1996: 36–7 or Hall 2002, chapter 3.

number of different stories preserved in several different texts. These stories overlap and contain many similar themes, but in many cases they tell different parts of the myth, and discuss particular cities or individual founders. These various stories, and the idea of the Ionian Migration in itself, will be discussed in full in [Chapter 7](#). For now, suffice to say that there were many different myths of migration, told by many different authors, all of which recount how Greek speakers arrived in Anatolia and settled in the places that would later become the Ionian cities.

Indeed, foundation myths abounded in Ionia. They came in all forms, dated from all time periods, and said a wide range of things about a wide range of places. In the archaic and classical periods, it appears that a number of summative works were written which specifically addressed the question of Ionian history and foundations as a collective whole. These are said to have included Panyassis of Halikarnassos' *Ionika*, Bias of Priene's *Peri Ionias*, and Kadmos of Miletus' book on Ionian foundations. It is unfortunate that almost nothing remains of these works – of the three listed above, fragments only are preserved of the writings of Panyassis. Even these fragments, however, are of uncertain provenance and must be approached with caution.⁶⁰ Another important medium for the telling of foundation stories were the many works of local history that appeared in the archaic, classical and Hellenistic periods. These texts were written for the express purpose of narrating a particular city's foundation and early history. Such texts were written for cities across the Greek world, but the genre seems to have been especially popular in Ionia and western Anatolia more generally. For the city of Colophon alone, for example, we know of Heropythos' *Kolophonion*, Xenophanes' *Kolophonos Ktisis*, and Erxias' *Kolophoniakois*. But for every example we have a record for, it is likely that several others were written about which we know nothing. These works would have been detailed treatments of their chosen polis and its past, describing not just the city's foundation but also that of its main cults and outlining the ancient and more recent history of its inhabitants. Unfortunately, as with the summative works on Ionian history, none of these western Anatolian local histories have survived in anything close to

⁶⁰ In some cases, we cannot even always be sure that the texts in question, or even the authors, ever really existed. For example, it has been argued that Bias of Priene may not have been a real historical figure, but rather a pseudoepigraphon. However, for the purposes of this book, such a lack of historicity is not a problem. What is significant in this chapter is rather that Ionia was widely considered to be a place where foundation stories circulated. In the following chapters, I will discuss the specifics of some of these stories and the people who wrote them only in cases where enough reliable information is available.

their complete form. For the three Colophonian histories listed here, only a single fragment is preserved from one of them – a short passage from Heropythos which explains why the Phaselians offer smoked fish as sacrifices (*FGrHist* 448 F1). The rest of Heropythos' text, as well as the entirety of the other two works, has been completely lost. We can only speculate what texts in both of these categories – the local histories and the Ionian histories – may have originally said.

So although Ionian local histories once provided a rich source of foundation myths, relatively little of this material survives. We occasionally catch a glimpse of the wealth of these lost literary sources preserved as quotations in the writings of later authors – Pausanias and Strabo, for example, are both particularly rich sources for such fragments of earlier texts. As well as direct quotes, summaries of stories or even passing references to these earlier texts also appear in later works that deliberately summarise earlier traditions, such as Photius' *Bibliotheca*, or inscriptions such as the Lindian Chronicle.⁶¹ Beyond even these unknown lost written sources, it is also probable that many stories or alternative versions were circulated orally, not just in Greek, but most likely also in Carian and other Anatolian languages. The Ionian foundation stories that we know of, therefore, are only the tip of a very large iceberg. This of course presents many problems when it comes to trying to reconstruct the foundation stories themselves, or for attempting to figure out what it is such authors may have written. However, it is nonetheless significant that there were once such a large number of writings on the subject, regardless of what their content may have been.⁶² Similarly, even if (as has sometimes been suggested) some of these works or even authors were themselves the spurious inventions of a later period, it is still revealing

⁶¹ For more on Photius' compilation, see Treadgold 1980. The Lindian Chronicle, an inscription ostensibly listing dedications at the temple of Athena at Lindos, offers us the names of a wide range of otherwise unknown local historians and mythographers, citing them as references concerning specific dedications at the sanctuary. See Higbie 2003. For a discussion of local histories, their fragmentary nature, lost works and potential for research, see Clarke 2008, especially chapter 4.

⁶² It is perhaps important to consider why so little has survived of these local histories. Of course, there are many texts in all genres from the ancient world that do not survive. However, the mortality rate for the local histories of Anatolia does seem to be particularly high, especially given that there were originally so many of them. Perhaps this might be partly explained by the specifically local appeal of such works. Their narrow focus on individual cities or regions within western Anatolia might have meant that they were less appealing to the collectors and libraries outside Anatolia. This would make them less likely to enter the mainstream manuscript tradition, and also less likely to appear in excavated papyri than other literary genres. For our purpose, it is unfortunate that so much of this corpus has been lost. However, given its limited appeal, it is perhaps understandable.

that it was so widely assumed in later times that such texts had once existed. Ionian cities have long been associated with the telling of foundation myths.

We often learn more about the substance of the myths themselves from other types of text. Indeed, many Ionian foundation stories are preserved in contexts where they were not the author's primary interest. Frequently, Greek authors will mention as an aside that a particular city was founded by a particular person for a particular reason, in a discussion of something totally different. For example, when Herodotus tells us the well-known foundation story of Miletus (Hdt 1.15; see [Chapter 4](#) for a further discussion), he does so in a passage where he is arguing that the Ionians are an ethnically mixed group. The foundation of Miletus is simply an example he uses to prove his point. In other places, a foundation story is told as part of a more general description of a place, as we find commonly in Strabo and Pausanias. Strabo, for example, tells his readers about the early history and foundation of Ephesus straight after he has described the main visitor sights in the area (Strabo 14.1.21). In addition to these, a great many more texts do not even tell the story of the foundation at all, but merely refer to elements within it such as certain episodes or characters. These texts usually assume that the reader already knows the foundation story itself. The narrative of the foundation must then be pieced together by looking at a number of different texts, or extrapolated from various other mythographical sources.

Another potential source of evidence for Ionian foundation myths are the social practices, and especially the cult practices, of the Ionians themselves. Here, as in many parts of the Greek world, founders or *oikists* were often honoured with a civic cult. In such instances, an altar or a sanctuary area would be dedicated to them where offerings would be laid, and sometimes they would be commemorated at particular days within the civic calendar. On Chios, for example, the founder figure Oinopion seems to have had a cult centre dedicated to him (see [Chapter 5](#) for a discussion). The literary, epigraphic and archaeological evidence for such cults is an extremely valuable source of information for Ionian foundation myths. Of course, it does not often tell us the story of the foundation in a narrative form. However, it does tell us something about how people related to those foundation stories: the significance of the founder for the life of the city, and how far the myths may have circulated beyond the literate elite.

Another source of evidence is iconography. This perhaps can usefully be divided into the images used on private and domestic objects and those used as part of civic or official iconography. The images chosen for display on coins and on public monuments in particular sometimes feature episodes from a city's foundation story, and may even depict the *oikist*. For example, several

Ephesian coins from the Roman period have on them a wild boar, the creature which was said to have shown the colonists the place where they should establish their city (Kreophylos *FGrHist* 417 F1). The choice of such images would have been a conscious act of self-representation on the part of the polis authorities, and allusions to a particular foundation myth or element within a foundation myth would not be made without reason. This type of evidence, like that of *oikist* cults, is indicative of how foundation myths were understood and used by the groups about which they were told. What did the civic authorities of Miletus think about the various Milesian myths, for example? What would an officially sanctioned version of civic origins look like? Iconography in private settings, such as in funerary contexts or on domestic painted pottery, is potentially also illuminating. The portrayal of *oikists* and foundation stories in less public settings provides an informative point of comparison for the official portrayals sanctioned by the state. As already mentioned above, it tells us something about the way different origin myths were received and viewed by the wider population. This could potentially suggest some very different conclusions from those we might draw if we restrict ourselves to the officially sanctioned depictions and the texts.

This book will therefore draw from a wide range of sources to investigate Ionian foundation and origin myths. Textual, epigraphic, archaeological and iconographic evidence will be used to construct the different possible ideas that people may have had about Ionian origins. The perspectives of Ionians themselves will be considered, as well as those of outsiders with interests in the region. Archaeological and epigraphic evidence from these centuries is available from a number of sites and surveys within Ionia and western Anatolia more generally. In terms of on-site archaeology, it should be noted that more material has survived from the later part of this time period (the fourth and the fifth centuries) than for the earlier (the sixth and the seventh). This is because at many sites the buildings and structures of the later periods have disturbed the earlier remains underneath them. In addition, excavations have not always gone down as far as these archaic levels at all, and in several places have focused on remains from the Roman and Hellenistic periods. The third issue to note with the archaeological material concerns the dissemination of the research that has been done. Projects publish their results at different paces, and the latest information from any given site of survey is not always widely available. Despite these issues, however, archaeological material will still be an important source of evidence for the studies carried out in this book.

When considering written sources, I restrict myself as much as possible to sources dating from the period under examination – the seventh to the fourth

centuries BC. Existing discussions of the Ionian foundation myths have to date ignored the question of chronology in the available sources. Texts from all periods are treated together, with the assumption that a passing reference or a similar name in an archaic text can necessarily be equated with a myth told by Pausanias or Strabo. While it is certainly attractive to maximise the information available by bringing in as wide a range of texts as possible, such a methodological approach cannot be defended. A much more critical approach to the texts is needed, and it is hoped that such an approach is adopted in this book.

As mentioned above, many Ionian foundation myths and local traditions are discussed in the later works, such as Pausanias' *Description of Greece* or the *Geography* of Strabo. Authors such as these collected information from local histories and oral tradition, combining them with the results of their own autopsy to compile social, cultural and geographical guides to the places they described.⁶³ It is likely that at least some of the stories included in these works were part of long-standing local traditions, and that a number of them would indeed have been in circulation for centuries. However, we cannot be sure which stories may have been part of a long-standing local tradition for many generations, and which may have emerged relatively recently. There is simply no way to be sure that any story quoted by a later author such as Pausanias was definitely in circulation during our period of the seventh to the fourth centuries. There are two exceptions to this, however. Narratives recorded by later authors can be used where there is external evidence corroborating the fact that the myth was in circulation in our time period. This evidence might take the form of other earlier texts, inscriptions, iconography, or archaeological evidence for a related cult. The other exception is where the later author records the name of his source, and when it is known that this source dates from our time period. For example, when discussing the foundation of the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, Pausanias explicitly states that he is following Pindar's account in his own work (Paus 7.2.7–8). It can therefore be assumed that the story recorded by Pausanias here was indeed in circulation in the fifth century when Pindar wrote. However, when it is impossible to date stories in one of these two ways, I have not included them in my analysis. I would argue that it is better to accept that we will never know all of the origin myths that might have been in circulation at any one time rather than to build a hypothesis on a

⁶³ Patterson 2010 argues that for this reason Pausanias can potentially be a good source for local traditions. However, he uses Pausanias in conjunction with sources contemporary from the time period in question, usually inscriptions, to avoid anachronism.

potentially anachronistic foundation story. Strict attention, then, will be paid to the dates at which we know different myths were in circulation.

This strict focus on contemporaneity in the literary sources (or sources corroborated by other contemporary evidence) means that the written evidence included in this book is relatively limited. Well-known works of the classical canon, such as Herodotus or Thucydides, are discussed where relevant. However, many of the stories and authors that will be discussed in this book survive today only in fragmentary form. Short passages of these works have sometimes been preserved by later authors, who quoted or paraphrased sections within their own work. These fragments are problematic, because we do not always know their original context. We are usually ignorant of where in the original narrative a particular section would have been located, and what the author originally said before and after the passage to put it in a wider context. We must therefore be careful about the way we read these fragments, inferring only what the quotation itself can support and bearing in mind the limits of the material we are working with.⁶⁴

It will be evident from the outset that there is no single genre for foundation myths. Not until the Hellenistic period is there evidence for a coherent genre for the subject, with a specific form and social context.⁶⁵ Instead, references to foundation myths are contained in many different types of literary texts, as well as in different types of inscriptions. Often, these references will take the form of a passing mention, not telling the complete story but alluding to it as part of a wider narrative about a different topic. Both poetry and prose contain elements of foundation myths – relevant passages are to be found in epinician, lyric, epic, rhetoric, historiography, ethnography and geography. Foundation myths, therefore, should not be thought of as an independent genre, but rather as a recurring and popular topic that may appear in several different contexts. There were, of course, local histories that focused on the myths and legends associated with a particular polis or area.⁶⁶ However, these works did not solely concentrate on foundation myths. They are therefore an important source of evidence for foundation myths, but cannot be considered as a genre focused exclusively on origin stories.

⁶⁴ For the various problems of working with fragmentary texts, Brunt 1980 remains a good all-round discussion, while Clarke 2008 discusses in particular the issue of working with the fragmentary remains of local histories.

⁶⁵ Dougherty 1993.

⁶⁶ Clarke 2008 discusses these local histories and methods for approaching them.

For much of its history, Ionia has been a region of incredible complexity, where different populations, languages, customs and ideas have met, mixed and melded. Diversity, plurality and hybridity are characteristic features of Ionian life. Between the seventh and the fourth centuries BC, however, this plurality was threatened. Expansionist states to both the west and the east set their sights on the region, and Ionia became a disputed territory. But the political and military conflict was perhaps less of a threat to Ionian plurality than the new ideological developments that accompanied them. Within Greek political discourse, new concepts began to emerge which drew sharp distinctions between Europe and Asia, Greeks and non-Greeks. Ionia now found itself on the front line, caught between categories in a liminal border zone both politically and ideologically.

How did Ionians themselves cope with all this? Amongst other things, they told stories. It can be no coincidence that, precisely during this period, there was an explosion of interest in Ionia's foundation myths. This book will consider both the foundation myths that were told about Ionia from the seventh to the fourth centuries BC and also, where possible, the reception of these myths amongst the population of the Ionian cities. The book is not an exhaustive guide to all Ionian foundation myths. Completeness would be impossible to achieve in any case, as we can never be certain whether the stories that survive today represent the full range of stories in circulation at the time. However, this book does not set out to discuss even the full range of stories that survive today. Instead, it focuses on a few specific myths and discusses them in detail, exploring how they were used to situate Ionia and the Ionians within the shifting and complex world around them.

Violence and the foundation of Miletus

Ἐρυθραῖοι δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀφικέσθαι σὺν Ἐρύθρῳ τῷ Ῥαδαμάνθου φασιν ἐκ Κρήτης καὶ οἰκιστὴν τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι τὸν Ἐρυθρον· ἐχόντων δὲ αὐτὴν ὁμοῦ τοῖς Κρησὶ Λυκίων καὶ Καρῶν τε καὶ Παμφύλων, Λυκίων μὲν κατὰ συγγένειαν τὴν Κρητῶν – καὶ γὰρ οἱ Λύκιοι τὸ ἀρχαῖον εἰσιν ἐκ Κρήτης, οἱ Σαρπηδόσι ὁμοῦ ἔφυγον – Καρῶν δὲ κατὰ φιλίαν ἐκ παλαιοῦ πρὸς Μίνω, Παμφύλων δὲ ὅτι γένους μέτεστιν Ἑλληνικοῦ καὶ τούτοις – εἰσὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ οἱ Πάμφυλοι τῶν μετὰ ἄλωσιν Ἰλίου πλανηθέντων σὺν Κάλχαντι – τούτων τῶν κατειλεγμένων ἐχόντων Ἐρυθράς, Κλέσπος ὁ Κόδρου συλλέξας ἐξ ἀπασῶν τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ πόλεων ὅσους δὴ παρὰ ἐκάστων ἐπεισέγαγεν Ἐρυθραίοις συνοίκους.

The Erythraeans say that they arrived at the start from Crete with Erythros the son of Rhadamanthus, and that Erythros was the founder [οἰκιστὴν], establishing the city. The Lycians, Carians and Pamphylians inhabited it together with the Cretans: Lycians because of their kinship with the Cretans (for the Lycians were originally from Crete, and fled along with Sarpedon); Carians because of their friendship from antiquity with Minos; Pamphylians because they also are part of the Greek people [γένους] (for the Pamphylians were with those who wandered with Calchas after the capture of Troy). These people listed occupied Erythrae, and when Cleopus the son of Codrus collected people from all the cities in Ionia, however many he could from each, he led them in as well to live with the Erythraeans. (Pausanias 7.3.7)

This passage of Pausanias offers us a picture of the relationship between migrants and locals. Pausanias tells us that the city of Erythrae was founded by migrants from Crete, but also that Carians, Lycians and Pamphylians lived amongst the Cretans in the new settlement. There is an explicit focus on the friendly relationships between the groups, and the language is that of cooperation and collaboration. We are told that the Lycians had kinship (συγγένειαν) with the Cretans, that the Carians had friendship (φιλίαν) with them, and that the Pamphylians were also related through ancient kinship from before the Trojan War. The passage ends by describing the arrival of the final group making up Erythrae's mixed population: the Ionians. The Ionians are said to have settled down amongst the others, living with them (συνοίκους) in the existing community. Pausanias presents a picture of many different layers of migration, all of which are peaceful and friendly,

resulting in a mixed city where different groups lived happily alongside each other. Pausanias' tale of cooperation at Erythrae was not, however, characteristic of all Ionian foundation myths. He wrote considerably later than the time period under consideration in this book, and may therefore have had a different set of priorities and assumptions from those of archaic and classical writers. These earlier stories often describe inter-group relations as much less cordial. Indeed, one of the best-known myths of Ionian foundations is much more violent:

οὗτοι δὲ οὐ γυναῖκας ἡγάγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀποικίην ἀλλὰ Καίειρας ἔσχον, τῶν ἐφόνευσαν τοὺς γονέας. διὰ τοῦτόν δὲ τὸν φόνον αἱ γυναῖκες αὐταὶ νόμον θέμεναι σφίσι αὐτῇσι ὅρκους ἐπήλασαν καὶ παρέδοσαν τῇσι θυγατράσι, μὴ κοτε ὁμοσιτῆσαι τοῖσι ἀνδράσι μηδὲ οὐνόματι βῶσαι τὸν ἐωυτῆς ἄνδρα, τοῦδε εἵνεκα ὅτι ἐφόνευσαν σφέων τοὺς πατέρας καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ παῖδας καὶ ἔπειτα ταῦτα ποιήσαντες αὐτῇσι συνοίκεον. ταῦτα δὲ ἦν γινόμενα ἐν Μιλήτῳ.

These men did not bring women along to their settlements, but took Carian women whose fathers they had killed. Because of this murder, the women made a rule for themselves and enforced it on themselves with an oath (and transmitted it to their daughters) that no one would ever eat with her husband or speak his name, because after murdering their fathers and husbands and children, the men had made them live with them. These things happened at Miletus. (Herodotus 1.146)

Herodotus is describing an episode of the Ionian Migration, focusing in particular on the colonisation of Miletus. The character of the settlement process and the relationship between the immigrant Ionians and the local groups is quite different from that portrayed by Pausanias. Instead of collaboration, the migration is described in terms of conflict, colonisation and conquest. The colonists are described as having murdered (ἐφόνευσαν) the parents, husbands and sons of the women they later forced into marriage. The hostility continues after the initial takeover, with enmity programmed into the relationship at the very heart of the home: the marriage. The ongoing refusal of the Milesian women to sit at table with their husbands implies a continuation of ethnic hostility from the time of migration into Herodotus' own time. The situation described by Herodotus here seems to be one of direct and open opposition between Ionians and Carians, and one in which there was a conspicuous asymmetry of power.

The superiority of Ionians over the Carians is told here in stark terms, with the Greeks simply killing the Carian menfolk. Another expression of unequal power relations can be found in the marriages between the Ionian men and the Carian women. The gendering of colonial relationships in this way is well documented in modern colonial literatures. In British and

French writings of the eighteenth to the early twentieth centuries, the motif of the male European colonist dominating the passive and exoticised native female is common.¹ Marriage or sex therefore often becomes a metaphor for the relationship between colonisers and the colonised. As the man is to the woman, so is the coloniser to the colonised. Ancient Greek texts also made use of this same motif. Possession, penetration and ploughing of a symbolic woman was a common metaphor for the possession, penetration and ploughing of the earth.² The women in these stories are metaphors, not only for the land, but also for the native populations of that land. The asymmetry of colonial relationships was packaged as the ‘natural’ asymmetry of gender relationships. This image of the active, male, Greek colonist dominating the passive, female, non-Greek native can be found in many foundation myths of Greek colonial settlements.³ The image would have gained additional force in the classical period, when the stereotyped antithesis between Greek and Barbarian was becoming more widespread. The oppositional model of cultural difference cast the coloniser and colonised as opposites – Greek and Barbarian, active and passive, strong and weak. For Herodotus’ fifth-century audience, this story of the Ionian foundation of Miletus would have recalled contemporary political rhetoric about cultural difference.

Herodotus’ story of the Ionian arrival at Miletus is not alone in its portrayal of a tense relationship between coloniser and colonised. Conflict also features in another story about the foundation of Miletus, told by the mythographer Pherecydes around the same time that Herodotus was writing. Pherecydes seems to have told a story similar to Herodotus’, making reference to the Ionian Migration without explicitly telling the story of it. The image here is, again, one of violent displacement and the military conquest of local Anatolian groups by the incoming Ionians. The Ionians are said literally to have thrown out (ἐκβληθῆναι) the Carians. There can be no doubt over the asymmetrical power relationship between Ionians and Carians:

ταύτης δέ φησι Φερεκύδης Μίλητον μὲν καὶ Μυοῦντα καὶ τὰ περὶ Μυκάλην καὶ Ἐφεσον Κᾶρας ἔχειν πρότερον, τὴν δ’ ἐξῆς παραλίαν μέχρι Φωκαίας καὶ Χίον καὶ Σάμον, ἧς Ἀγκαῖος ἦρχε, Λέλεγας: ἐκβληθῆναι δ’ ἀμφοτέρους ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰώνων καὶ εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ μέρη τῆς Καρίας ἐκπεσεῖν.

¹ This trend has been widely discussed in the fields of post-colonial studies and literature. See for example Said 1978; Dougherty 1998; Bahri 2004.

² For women as agricultural metaphors in foundation myths, see Calame 1990: 289ff.; Dougherty 1993: 63ff.

³ Dougherty 1993: 61ff.

Pherecydes says that Miletus, Myus, and around Mykale, and Ephesus were previously occupied by Carians; then the coast as far as Phocaea, and Chios, and Samos (which Ankaïos ruled) was occupied by Leleges; but both were thrown out by the Ionians, and they were expelled into the remaining parts of Caria. (Pherecydes *FGrHist* 3 F155)

Other texts present a similarly aggressive picture of Miletus' foundation. Most of these were written considerably later than the period focused on in this book, and as we cannot be sure how far they represented the stories in circulation during our period, they will not be discussed in detail here. However, it is nonetheless significant that the idea of violence and displacement accompanying the Ionian foundation of Miletus seems to have been a widespread and long-standing one.⁴ It is not certain, however, how far this perception of a bloody foundation was something subscribed to by Milesians themselves, or something assumed by outsiders. Here, the passages from Pherecydes and Herodotus offer us little guidance. Herodotus' roots were in Dorian Halikarnassos, not in Ionia, and he himself emigrated from western Anatolia, spending much of his working life in Athens. Therefore, we cannot be sure to what extent his characterisation of the Ionian past played to Athenian expectations, was born out of his own individual perspective, or echoed the popular perception of his contemporaries in western Anatolia. Pherecydes is even more problematic than Herodotus on this point. There is some uncertainty regarding the identity of Pherecydes, or, more accurately, the various authors known as Pherecydes.⁵ Debate focuses on whether Pherecydes of Syros (a philosopher) can be equated with Pherecydes of Athens, the genealogical writer whose work is discussed in this book. The *Suda* also mentions the existence of a Pherecydes of Leros, an island within the Milesian territory. This Pherecydes is said to have written a local history of his native island of Leros as well as several mythological works. It remains uncertain whether this Pherecydes of Leros may have ever actually existed, when he may have been active, and whether he may have been the same as the

⁴ The later texts may well have used writers such as Herodotus and Pherecydes as source material when it came to composing their own versions of the Miletus foundation story. Pausanias 7.2.5–6, for example, seems to be drawing directly on Herodotus when he says that the Ionians killed all the male inhabitants of the city on arrival. Strabo 7.7.2 does not focus so much on the story of the Ionian Migration itself, but does say that the area around Miletus was originally inhabited by Carians, who were expelled when the Ionians took over. A scholiast on Aristeides (1c) wrote that the Delphic Oracle told Neileus to drive out the 'unjust' (*adikoi*) Carians from Miletus (Parke and Wormell 1956, nos. 301–2). All these later stories of violence and conflict chime with the fragments of Pherecydes and Herodotus quoted here.

⁵ The question has been discussed relatively recently in Toye 1997 and Fowler 1999, who present opposing views on the subject. See also Morrison 2011a.

Athenian Pherecydes. Given the comparable subject matter of the Athenian and Larian authors, it is perhaps possible that Pherecydes may have originally come from Leros and later moved to live and work in Athens. If this were the case, then this passage may indeed offer us some insight into a local Milesian perspective. However, even if we accept this questionable attribution, the fact nonetheless remains that Pherecydes spent much of his working life in Athens and took commissions from wealthy Athenian patrons.⁶ On balance, therefore, we cannot assume that Pherecydes' writings reflect a Milesian or even an Ionian point of view. The literary evidence alone, therefore, cannot tell us whether violence in these stories was part of Milesian self-image, or primarily aimed at Athenian audiences.

There is some evidence from Miletus itself, however, to suggest the former. The violent stories quoted above are all focused on one particular moment within Miletus' history: the arrival of Ionian migrants during the EIA, and their formal establishment of Miletus as a Greek polis. Milesians generally seem to have embraced the story of the Ionian Migration, embracing also by extension the violence that this seems to have involved. One point to note in this context was that the leader of the Ionian Migration was said to be Neileus, one of the younger sons of Codrus, the mythical king of Athens.⁷ Neileus was sometimes said to have been the generic founder of all the cities of the Ionian

⁶ For example, Pherecydes seems to have worked for the noble Athenian family of the Philaidae, writing a genealogy of their line including Miltiades, the father of the political Cimon (*FGrHist* 3 F2 and F59). See Jacoby 1947 and Morrison 2011b for more details.

⁷ The Neileus of the Ionian Migrations is not to be confused with his own ancestor Nēleus, the father of the Iliadic hero Nestor. This Nēleus was said to have founded Pylos in the Peloponnese (e.g. *Iliad* 10.555; *Odyssey* 3.79; Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 1.9; Strabo 8.3). It was descendants of this Pylian Nēleus who were said to have migrated from Pylos to Attica when they were expelled by the returning Heracleidae. There they established Melanthus (also one of Nēleus' descendants) as king of Athens. Melanthus was Codrus' father and Neileus' grandfather. The complete story of the dynasty is told in Hellanicus *FGrHist* 4 F125 (for a wider discussion of the Codrid family and its significance at Athens, see Robertson 1988). Note the difference in spelling between the Pylian Nēleus and the Neileus who founded Miletus. Not all of the ancient texts make this distinction in the spelling of the name, but I have chosen to adopt it so as to avoid confusion between the two mythical characters. Note that Herodotus uses Nēleus for the Pylian father of Nestor (5.65) and Neileus for the son of Codrus (9.97). For a discussion of Nēleus and Neileus, see Momigliano 1933: 272–3, and Lazzarini 1978, 187–91. For various possible origins of the names, see Sakellariou 1958, 52. Cults of Neileus or Nēleus are attested at various locations in the Greek world. As well as the shrine to Neileus mentioned by Pausanias at Miletus in the second century AD, there was also a cult of Nēleus in Athens. An inscription has been found in Athens dating to 418/17 BC, detailing regulations for a sanctuary of Kodrus, Nēleus and Basile (*IG* I³ no. 84; see Sokolowski 1969, 14; Kearns 1989, 179; and Robertson 1988, 231–3). In addition to Miletus and Athens, there also seems to have been a cult of the Pylian Nēleus at Metapontion (Strabo 6.1.15), where he was worshipped as the father of the city's founder, Nestor (see Malkin 1998, 211–13 for more on this cult). Furthermore, a bronze bucket has also been found at the Samian Heraion, bearing the inscription (dated to the second quarter of the sixth century BC by letter-forms):

dodecapolis, as Hellanicus tells us in the late fifth century (*FGrHist* 4 F125).⁸ However, he was also linked to Miletus particularly, and in several literary texts he is specifically said to have been the *oikist*, or official civic founder, of the city.⁹ In addition to these straightforward references for Neileus as Miletus' *oikist*, there also seems to have been a later tradition that said that Neileus consulted the already-existing Carian oracle at Didyma to find out in which exact location he should establish the city of Miletus.¹⁰ In addition to these literary references, it seems that Neileus was explicitly honoured at Miletus as its *oikist*, at least by the mid-third century BC. A public fountain from 245–243 BC has been found in the southern agora of the city, bearing on its base the following inscription:¹¹

ὁ δῆμος
Νειλέα
τὸν κτίσῃν
ἀποκαταέστησεν

The demos set this up for Neileus the founder

This public acknowledgement of Neileus as the civic founder of the city is significant. The monument was set up in the southern agora – a conspicuously

ὁ ἱερεὺς το Νέλεω ἀνέθηκεν τῇρῃ ('the priest of Neleus sacrificed this to Hera'). For this inscription, see Lazzari 1978 and Jeffrey 1990, 471, item C. It is unclear whether this priest served the Pylian Nēleus or Neileus the son of Codrus, as neither has a known connection to the island of Samos. Indeed amongst the sons of Codrus, it is usually Androclus, rather than Neileus, who is connected with Samos (Paus 7.2.2–8). Of course, the dedication of this item at the Samian Heraion does not, in itself, demonstrate that there was indeed a cult of either Nēleus or Neileus on Samos – the sanctuary was large and famous, and frequented by visitors and pilgrims as well as by locals. Finally, there seems to have been a cult of Aphrodite Nēleia in Magnesia in Thessaly *IG* 9.2 no. 1125 (indeed, Nēleia was a town in this area of Thessaly – Strabo 9.5.15).

⁸ ὁ δὲ νεώτερος αὐτοῦ παῖς Νηλεὺς τῆς δωδεκαπόλεως Ἰωνίας κτιστῆς ἐγένετο: 'Neileus, a younger son, became the founder of the Ionian dodecapolis'. Other sources which concur with this view of Neileus as the generic founder of the Ionian cities include: Aristotle F76 Rose; Parian Marble A.27; Apollonius Rhodius 1.959; Plutarch *De glor. Ath.* 7; Ael. *VH* 8.5; *Suda* s.v. Ἰωνία (Adler no. 494).

⁹ See, for example, Herodotus 9.97; Lycophron, *Alexandra* 1374–87 (although this is rather cryptic); Callimachus, *Hymn to Artemis* 225–7; Theocritus *Idyll* 28.3; Polybius 16.12; Parthenius *Love Stories* 14; Nicolaus of Damascus *FGrHist* 90 F53; Plutarch *De Mul. Virt.* 16; Pausanias 7.1.4; Polyaeus *Strategemata* 8.35; Maximus of Tyre *Or.* 29.7; Amm Marc. 28.1.4 and 22.8.12; Libanius 5.34. For the role and functions of an *oikist*, see Malkin 1985 and Dougherty 1993.

¹⁰ It should be noted that the evidence for this oracular consultation comes only from very late sources, and that there is no way of establishing whether the story of the Didyma consultation was circulating during the period considered in this book. References to Neileus consulting the oracle at Didyma are preserved in the writings of John Tzetzes, a historian and classical scholiast from the twelfth century AD (Tzetzes *On Lyk.* 1385 and Tzetzes *Chil.* 13.111–12). The oracular consultation is mentioned in Parke and Wormell 1956, no. 302 and Fontenrose 1988, no. 59. It is discussed in Herda 2008: 20 n58. Herda suggests that the oracle at Didyma in this time is likely to have been a native Carian shrine.

¹¹ See *I.Milet'*, no. 269.

public space where it would be on continual display. In addition, the monument is specifically said to have been dedicated by the *demos* – the official assembly of Milesian citizen body. It is noteworthy that the monument was not set up by a particular individual or group within the polis, but rather by the Milesian citizens as a collective whole. This implies that the decision to erect the monument was taken by popular vote in the assembly, and would have been widely discussed by the population of Miletus at the time. The epigraphic record from Didyma also suggests that the figure of Neileus was popular at Miletus by the Hellenistic period at least. One particularly good example of this is a funerary epigram from the second century, for example, which refers to Miletus as the ‘πόλις Νείλεω’.¹²

Another sign of the Milesians’ recognition of Neileus as their *oikist* is the existence of a shrine to Neileus in his capacity as civic hero. Pausanias mentions this shrine in his description of the art and monuments of Ionia (7.1.6). We are told that the shrine was on the left-hand side of the road leaving the city, and quite close to the city gates. Although no sign of such a shrine has been found in the excavations to date, this reference indicates that there was indeed an *oikist* cult for Neileus at Miletus at least by the second century AD. Of course, given that Pausanias was writing considerably later than our own period of the seventh to fourth centuries BC, we cannot be absolutely sure whether the shrine existed in this earlier period. However, given the antiquity of the stories about Neileus, it is likely that the cult was not altogether a new establishment, even if the shrine itself may have been a more recent construction. The shrine would have been in a prominent position, visible to anyone coming in or out along the main arterial road of the city. Indeed, the annual procession from the city to the oracular sanctuary of Didyma, one of the most important events in the Milesian ritual calendar, would have passed directly in front of the shrine to Neileus.¹³

There also seems to have been an aristocratic family at Miletus who claimed descent from Neileus. A number of inscriptions from the site mention individuals with names that were mythically connected to the figure of Neileus. One of these dates from that century, and records the banishment of several men and their families from the city, including not just the immediate

¹² For this inscription, see *I.Didyma* no.537, line 14. Two other later inscriptions from Didyma mentioning the Neileid fatherland are known (both from the second century AD): *I.Didyma* no.170, side II; and *I.Didyma* no.496, side B.

¹³ It does not seem that the Neileus shrine was a formal stopping point for the procession, as the Molpoi inscription makes no explicit mention of a monument to the *oikist*. See lines 27–30 of the inscription for an outline of the route. The text is available in Herda 2006b. However, it would have been impossible for the processing crowds to ignore the shrine as they went past it, given its location.

sons of the named individuals, but also their unborn progeny in years to come.¹⁴ Given the evidence from the Athenian tribute lists, other Milesian decrees, the Athenian regulations for Miletus and comments in literary works,¹⁵ this banishment decree is usually interpreted as indicative of *stasis* and political disaffection surrounding Miletus' membership of the Delian League. After one particularly violent revolt, it seems that Athens imposed political constraints on the Milesian governing classes, installing their own magistrates within the city. In this context, it is possible that this banishment records the exile of some of the oligarchic ringleaders of the revolt. However, the location of the inscription on a stele base suggests that the banishment of these particular families was not the main focus of the inscription, but was instead added onto the bottom of a related text. This might suggest that the banishment was the last of a list of other terms imposed on Miletus, or that these individuals came at the end of a longer list of other banishments. In any case, it seems that these men were involved in Milesian politics in some form, and must have done something dramatic to draw Athens' wrath.¹⁶ The argument has been made that some of the banished men may have belonged to an old aristocratic clan of Neileids. There is no direct evidence for this in the inscription itself, but two of the names listed have connections to the Neileus myth. The name Alkimos also belonged to one of the sons of the Pylian Nēleus; while the name Kresphontes is almost exclusively a Messenian name and is also mythically connected to Aipyros, the Milesian Neileus' son and the founder of Priene (Strabo 14.1.3).¹⁷ In addition to the banishment inscription, the Molpoi inscription mentions a magistrate whose name, Kretheus, is also mythically connected to Neileus.¹⁸ Finally, an inscription from 239/8–236/5 BC lists the eponymous magistrates by year, and includes in its rolls an individual called Euxitheos Neilos, son of Metrodoros.¹⁹ This

¹⁴ *I.Milet*¹, no. 187 = ML no. 43 = Osborne and Rhodes forthcoming, no. 123. The inscription is on the marble base of a stele that has now been lost. The date of the inscription is disputed, and has been placed at anything from 499 to 440 BC. Slawisch 2011 suggests that the inscription is of an early date, and relates to the banishment of the pro-Persian faction during the Ionian Revolt. This remains uncertain, however, and the most likely date does seem to be in the second or third quarter of the fifth century.

¹⁵ See Barron 1962 for a presentation of the evidence for a Milesian revolt.

¹⁶ See Osborne and Rhodes, forthcoming, no. 123 for a discussion of the physical remains of the inscription and its likely significance.

¹⁷ The Messenian Kresphontes is said to have had a son called Aipyros, just as the Milesian Neileus is also said to have had a son called Aipyros (Paus 4.3.8).

¹⁸ The mother of the Pylian Nēleus was the wife of Kretheus (although Neileus' father was Poseidon). See Barron 1962 for a discussion of the Neileid connections of names found in Milesian inscriptions, and for the case for a Neileid clan at Miletus.

¹⁹ *I.Milet*², no. 788.

name was clearly derived from that of Neileus, and makes an obvious allusion to the city's founder. It must be acknowledged that the evidence for a Neileid clan in archaic and classical Miletus is not overwhelmingly robust. However, it does show that a number of public and official figures in the city had names that were associated with their *oikist*. It is unsurprising that some leading aristocrats within the city made strategic use of the Neileus myth for their own dynastic self-aggrandisement.

Later traditions also attribute to Neileus not just the founding of the city, but also the establishment of some of its main cults. Strabo (14.1.3) tells us that in his time there was an altar to Poseidon that was said to have been erected by Neileus.²⁰ As with many of the nuggets of information found in later texts, there is no independent evidence to prove that such an altar existed in the archaic or classical period, or if it did that it was connected to the figure of Neileus. A stronger case is perhaps that for a cult of Artemis Chithone at Miletus which was said to have been established by Neileus. Callimachus, in his *Hymn to Artemis*, says that Neileus set up the cult of Artemis Chithone at Miletus after he had arrived from 'the land of Cecrops' (lines 225–7). The association between an Artemis cult and Neileus is found once more, some time later, in the work of Plutarch. Plutarch (*Mulierum virtutes* 16) mentions a festival of Artemis celebrated at Miletus called the Neleis, presumably because the festival was first instituted by Neileus.²¹ It seems that whatever the facts may or may not have been about who established the worship of Artemis at Miletus, there was certainly a later tradition that associated the *oikist* and this civic cult. And indeed it does seem that the cult of Artemis Chithone at Miletus was indeed an old one, as inscribed votive objects from the east slope of Kalabaktepe suggest that there was indeed a sanctuary of Artemis Chithone from the eighth century onwards, pre-dating the construction of a stone temple to the goddess in the late sixth century.²² By the time Callimachus was writing in the third century, the idea was already in circulation of Neileus as a cultic as well as a political founder.

The myth of Neileus as immigrant king and civic founder therefore seems to have enjoyed some popularity both in the wider literary world and at Miletus itself. But Neileus was also a figure commonly associated with inter-group fighting and the violent suppression of the local Carian population.

²⁰ The idea of Neileus erecting an altar of Poseidon is a particularly attractive one, given the story that his ancestor Nêleus of Pylos was said to have been a son of Poseidon (Hellanicus *FGrHist* 4 F125).

²¹ For more about this festival, see Robertson 1988, 233–8.

²² The case for the Neileid associations of this cult has been argued in Herda 1998 and Herda 2008: 28 n118. For the archaeological remains of the temple, see Kerschner 1999.

What would this have meant for Milesian civic identity and the relations between different ethnic groups within the city?

Violent stories reflecting a violent past?

Traditional scholarship on foundation myths argues that these stories about violence at Miletus should be taken at face value. It is said that violence and domination characterised the stories because violence and domination characterised the actual historical migration to Ionia whenever it happened, sometime in the EIA.²³ Taking the passage from Herodotus as an example, it was argued that the memory of a real massacre at Miletus must have been passed down through the generations – perhaps in exactly the gendered way that Herodotus suggests – and this would account for the violence in the foundation story.

However, there is evidence to suggest that any conflict that may have happened during the first moments of migration was not sustained in the early phases of the site's occupation. Thanks to over a century of exploration, Miletus' early history is better understood than that of many other Ionian cities, and the mixing of different groups here can be identified as far back as the Bronze Age.²⁴ From these early remains, it appears that Miletus was a cosmopolitan place from the outset. Evidence for trade and interaction can be found in the form of imports and diverse material culture styles at the site. This seems especially marked from the eighteenth century BC onwards. At this time, there seems to have been a dramatic increase in connections between Miletus and Minoan Crete.²⁵ Indeed, it has even been suggested that some Cretans might have lived at Miletus, either in a proto-colonial settlement or integrated into the local Anatolian community. Large quantities of Minoan pottery have been found on the site, including examples of the finely decorated Kamares Ware that was exported from Crete across the eastern Mediterranean.²⁶ This in itself does not suggest a Cretan presence at Miletus, as objects such as these were widely traded. Instead, better evidence for early immigrants from the Aegean comes in the form of characteristically Cretan social practices. For example, Cretan styles of coarseware cooking vessels were both used and manufactured in Middle

²³ E.g. Herda 2009: 73.

²⁴ The first excavations at Miletus were begun in 1873 by Olivier Rayet, and work on the site has continued with some breaks until the present day. For recent summaries of these findings, see Greaves 2000 and 2010; Erhardt et al. 2007.

²⁵ Niemeier 2007b: 8–10. ²⁶ MacGillivray 1998.

and Late Bronze Age Miletus, implying Cretan styles of food preparation and cuisine at the site.²⁷ In addition to this, several items have also been discovered which suggest that Minoan administrative practices may have been used at Miletus. Two Minoan seals and one clay sealing have been found, as well as evidence for the use of the Minoan system of weights and measures, and a pot sherd inscribed with Linear A, a syllabic script used at the Minoan palaces on Crete.²⁸ Although this one inscription does not prove that Linear A was used or understood by people at Miletus, taken alongside the two seals its presence here suggests that Miletus may have been in contact not just with Crete but specifically with the Minoan palaces. In the sphere of cult too, Cretan practices were employed at Miletus. A Cretan-style sanctuary has also been found; it is built around a typically Minoan altar, containing typically Minoan ritual vessels, and its walls seem to have been decorated with frescoes bearing scenes of a typically Minoan cultic nature.²⁹

Close connections with the southern and western Aegean continued throughout the Late Bronze Age (hereafter LBA), as attested by strong Mycenaean influences at the site. Mycenaean pottery has been found at Miletus in significant quantities, implying that at the very least there was continued trade around the Aegean. But even more significant, at LBA Miletus there are signs not just of Mycenaean objects but also of typically Mycenaean ways of doing things. For example, techniques of pottery manufacture appear at Miletus that originate on Crete and in mainland Greece but are previously unknown in Anatolia. In particular, two types of kiln have been found in one part of the settlement that has subsequently been dubbed 'the Potters' Quarter'. One type is known only from Crete, while the other appears to have originated on southern mainland Greece.³⁰ Not only were Mycenaean-style pots found at Miletus, therefore, but they were frequently produced at the site itself using typical Mycenaean techniques and technologies. Indeed, it has been suggested that Miletus may have been an important centre for ceramic production, and that some of the 'Mycenaean' vessels that were exported around the eastern Mediterranean may have originated here rather than on mainland Greece.³¹ In addition to ceramic technologies, Mycenaean cult practices may also be inferred from the terracotta *phi* and *psi* figurines found at the site. These figurines are thought to have had a ritual or cultic value, and while their size renders them highly mobile, the simplicity of their manufacture makes it unlikely that

²⁷ Niemeier 2005 and 2007b. ²⁸ See Niemeier 1996 for the Linear A inscription at Miletus.

²⁹ Niemeier 2007b: 11–12. ³⁰ Niemeier 1997. ³¹ Niemeier 2007b: 14.

they were commonly traded items. It seems most likely, therefore, that these figurines were brought to Miletus or made at Miletus by individuals for whom they were significant.³² At Miletus, they have been found not only within the settlement area, but also deposited as grave offerings in the cemetery at Değirmendere. The cemetery itself offers other evidence for a Mycenaean presence. Many of the grave goods are of an Aegean type, and the tombs themselves are typical Mycenaean rock-cut chamber tombs featuring a dromos and a stomion.³³ Mycenaean building styles and construction techniques also appear in the settlement as well as the necropolis. Rectilinear corridor-houses, an architectural type well known from the Greek mainland, are first found at Miletus midway through the LBA.³⁴ Finally, a Mycenaean seal and some examples of Linear B script have also been found at the site.³⁵

Overall then, it seems highly likely that people from the western and southern Aegean arrived at Miletus and were resident there during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. They brought with them not only their goods and objects, but also their knowledge and skills, their social and cultic practices, and their everyday habits and traditions. Any immigration from the Aegean that may have happened as part of an Ionian Migration in the EIA, then, would not have been a novelty at Miletus. The settlement had a very long history of incomers. Indeed, Miletus at this time was also part of long-distance networks of trade and exchange that extended far beyond the Aegean and Anatolia, and spread across the eastern Mediterranean and Near East. Grave goods from the Değirmendere cemetery bear witness to this network, as they include locally produced pottery in both Mycenaean and Anatolian styles as well as objects imported from Egypt, Mesopotamia and the Levant.³⁶ The ceramics found in the settlement are also indicative of Miletus' wide network of contacts. Pottery from Ugarit, Cyprus, mainland Greece and the rest of Anatolia is commonly found in domestic contexts.³⁷ Migration to Miletus in the LBA should be seen in this wider context of mobility and movement, rather than as a single, uni-directional population transfer.

³² Niemeier and Niemeier 1997; Niemeier 1999a.

³³ Niemeier and Niemeier 1997: 190ff. mentions the *phi* and *psi* figurines in the tombs, while the cemetery itself is mentioned briefly in Mee 1978 and 1998, and Niemeier 1999b. The cemetery was first explored at the start of the twentieth century, but no information was published at that stage. The publication of more recent research there is still in progress.

³⁴ Niemeier 1997: 197.

³⁵ Niemeier 2007b: 15 for the seal and Niemeier 1998 for the examples of Linear B.

³⁶ Mee 1978: 133; Niemeier and Niemeier 1997: 203–5; Niemeier 1998: 39–40.

³⁷ Niemeier 2007b: 15–16.

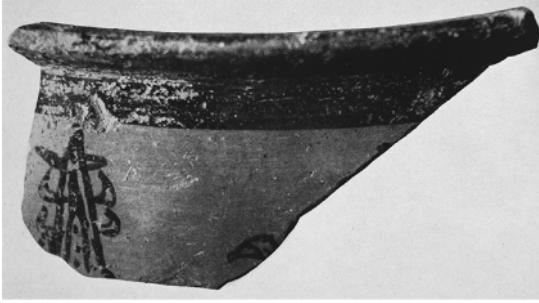
It should be noted that the long-term presence of Aegean immigrants in Miletus does not necessarily mean that Miletus was a ‘colony’.³⁸ There is no way to discern, from the material available, the proportion of the population from immigrant backgrounds. Comparing the relative quantities of local as opposed to Aegean pottery does not make for an accurate guide to the population’s ethnic or cultural makeup. Our knowledge of native Anatolian pottery traditions is still relatively poor, and it is likely that we cannot yet recognise all the characteristics of local ceramic technologies and production. In addition, the Bronze Age settlement has not been fully uncovered (nor will it ever be, given that it is overlain with classical and late antique remains). We cannot be sure whether the excavated area is representative of the rest of the site – it is possible that other areas would yield different proportions of local and Aegean wares. Even if it could be shown that Miletus was predominantly populated by Minoan or Mycenaean immigrants and their descendants, this does not necessarily entail political control. There is no archaeological evidence that these early immigrants dominated the indigenous Anatolian groups. Throughout the Bronze Age, local styles of pottery were still used alongside the Minoan and Mycenaean wares, and Anatolian practices, technologies and customs seem to have persisted as well.³⁹ Gold and silver slipped finewares, best known from the inland areas of the Hermos and Maeander river valleys, appear in the LBA; and examples of Hittite pottery, imported from central Anatolia, have also been found.⁴⁰ One particularly interesting object has been found which illustrates the cultural diversity at Miletus (Figure 2). This is a sherd of a locally made vessel in Mycenaean LH III C style.⁴¹ The sherd was decorated with a figure wearing the unmistakable conical hat worn by Hittite deities. This one small piece of pottery exemplifies the cultural plurality of early Miletus: a Hittite cult image, a Mycenaean visual style and a locally produced object.

Even if we were to postulate a predominantly migrant-descended population under migrant-descended political control, this still does not imply ethnic tension between migrants and indigenous groups. Signs of hostility between the Bronze Age Milesians and the surrounding population are conspicuously absent – for most of the Bronze Age there is no evidence

³⁸ The idea of Minoan or Mycenaean colonies, often including Miletus, is an enduring one. For the idea of a Minoan thalassocracy, see Hägg and Marinatos 1984; Wiener 1990; Davis and Groggianni 2008. For Mycenaean imperialism in the Aegean, see Wright 1984; Driessen and Farnoux 1994; Barber 1999; Preston 1999; Karantzali 2005. Branigan 1981 stressed that there may have been several different types of colonies, and warned against seeing Minoan and Mycenaean activity around the Aegean as necessarily being part of one universal process.

³⁹ Weickert 1959/60: 85. ⁴⁰ Mellink 1975, pl. 39.9; Kaiser and Zurbach forthcoming.

⁴¹ Weickert 1959/60. The abbreviation LH stands for Late Helladic.



2. LH IIIc sherd from Miletus depicting headgear of a 'Hittite priest'.

for a defensive wall or ditch around the city, for example. Such a wall was only built in the Third Building Period, in response to Hittite aggression in the area.⁴² Prior to this external incursion, it seems that the Mycenaean immigrants of the LBA were very comfortable moving through the surrounding countryside and interacting with their immediate neighbours. This can be inferred from the location of the chamber tomb cemetery several kilometres away at Değirmendere. Using this cemetery would not only have involved the initial construction of the tomb and the primary burial of each dead body, but it would also have entailed regular visits to the tomb and secondary burial. It seems highly unlikely that any immigrants at Miletus would have located their cemetery at a place to which they did not have safe access.

Hittite diplomatic and administrative documents can also shed light on LBA Miletus. It is now generally accepted that Miletus can be identified with the city named as Millawanda in the Hittite texts.⁴³ Millawanda is mentioned three times in the existing Hittite corpus, and each mention implies that the city was well integrated into the local landscape. The earliest mention of Millawanda appears in a fragmentary passage from the Annals of Mursili II. In it, Mursili claims that Millawanda supported the rebellion of the king of Arzawa, and therefore Mursili attacked and raided the city like many others in the Arzawa lands. It does not seem that Arzawa was ever a clearly defined political entity – rather, at the time of its rebellion against Mursili, it was more likely a loose alliance of principalities and city-states, united temporarily under a charismatic leader.⁴⁴ In the Hittite texts more generally, Arzawa appears to be a geographical designation for western

⁴² Niemeier and Niemeier 1997: 196. It is perhaps interesting to note that the fortification wall incorporated both Hittite and Mycenaean construction techniques.

⁴³ Hawkins 1998; Bryce 1999: 61.

⁴⁴ For Arzawa, see Heinhold-Kramer 1977; Hawkins 1998; Mac Sweeney 2010.

Anatolia, and the political alliance is likely to have grown up from several independent statelets in this area joining together against their common Hittite enemy. The fact that Millawanda joined this Arzawan alliance is significant. In c. 1320 BC Miletus would already have had an established population that included substantial numbers of people with either a Minoan or Mycenaean background. If Miletus is indeed Millawanda, it would seem that this mixed Aegean population was not at all cut off from its indigenous Anatolian neighbours. Instead of hostility between migrants and locals, it seems that all groups within the Milesian population joined together with the native Anatolian states nearby to fight against their common enemy: the expanding Hittite Empire.⁴⁵ The second and third appearances of Millawanda in the Hittite texts come from letters written by the Hittite kings. The Tawagalawa Letter and the Milawata Letter were both written in the mid-thirteenth century.⁴⁶ Both letters are addressed to unnamed kings of Ahhiyawa, a kingdom that is thought to lie somewhere in the Mycenaean Aegean,⁴⁷ and both complain about fugitives seeking sanctuary in Millawanda from the Hittite king. It seems that Millawanda was beyond the sphere of Hittite control by this period, and perhaps even aligned with Ahhiyawa. However, the city of Millawanda still seems to have been engaged in the local politics of its immediate neighbours – not only with the lands of Hatti and Ahhiyawa, but also with Wilusa to the north.

The archaeology of the EIA also reflects this. Architectural forms and traditions of building construction offer examples of local traditions and cultural diversity. Apsidal or oval-shaped houses dating to the Protogeometric period have been found in the area of the later temple of Athena as well as close to the later Hellenistic city wall (Figure 3). These have been variously interpreted as evidence of either indigenous Carian or intrusive Greek

⁴⁵ The Arzawans were right to fear Hittite expansion. The Annals of Mursili II tell of Hittite raids and interventionism in the Arzawa lands, and the archaeological record of Miletus also seems to bear witness to Hittite violence. The site was destroyed sometime in the fourteenth century (exactly the same period as Mursili's campaigns), and a large fortification wall was built afterwards using typically Anatolian construction techniques. This wall is usually interpreted as the work of Mursili's troops following their sack of the city (Niemeier 1998). As such, it cannot be seen as evidence for tension between the Aegean and Anatolian inhabitants of the area, but rather as relating to the conflict between local people (of both Anatolian and Aegean origins) and the Hittite Empire.

⁴⁶ Tawagalawa Letter = CTH 181. Milawata Letter = CTH 182.

⁴⁷ It is in the Tawagalawa Letter in particular that Millawanda is connected to the kingdom of Ahhiyawa. The debate around the location of Ahhiyawa – the 'Ahhiyawa Question' – has raged for some decades already, but it is generally thought to refer to somewhere in the Mycenaean world. The case has been made for both the Dodecanese and Thebes. For a taste of the debate, see Mellaart 1982; Güterbock 1983; Finkelberg 1988; Mountjoy 1998; Benzi 2002; Hope Simpson 2003; Pavúk 2005; Beckman et al. 2011.



3. Plan of some of the Protogeometric oval houses from Miletus.

influence, with the original excavators suggesting that they were Carian shrines, and later commentators arguing that they were typically Greek domestic structures.⁴⁸ While it now seems clear that the oval buildings should indeed be understood as domestic, it is less obvious whether they should be categorised as ‘Greek’. Similar domestic buildings have been found elsewhere on the Ionian coast at Clazomenae, Smyrna and Kale Tepe, as well as inland at the ‘Carian’ settlement of Hydai, where they are understood as a wholly local architectural form.⁴⁹ The confusion over how the oval houses of Miletus should be interpreted is in itself significant. It is not possible to label them as either ‘Greek’ or ‘indigenous’ – instead, they are an architectural form that fits comfortably within both Aegean and Anatolian building traditions. It is also

⁴⁸ See Mallwitz 1959/60 and Kleiner 1966: 14ff. for the former interpretation, and Herda 2009: 83–4 for the latter.

⁴⁹ For the use of this design at Smyrna (Bayraklı) see Akurgal 1983 and 1996; for Clazomenae (Limantepe) see Erkanal 1996; for Kale Tepe near Güzelçamlı see Chapter 7; and for Hydai, see Diler 2002.

significant that rectilinear houses were found alongside the oval buildings.⁵⁰ These rectilinear units are an architectural form better known from the Greek mainland and the islands than from Anatolia, and their presence at Miletus indicates some exchange of ideas and traditions with the west. Such exchange should not be in any way surprising. However, the simultaneous use of two different building styles and architectural traditions is important. It does not provide evidence for Aegean and Anatolian peoples living alongside each other, as architectural traditions like pottery cannot simply be equated with ethnic or cultural identities. However, it does indicate that Miletus was a place of plurality and variety. There was no one canonical way of doing things, no single unifying tradition or prescribed pattern of domestic activity. Instead, diversity was part of EIA Milesian life.

A similar impression is gained from the remains of EIA cult. The earliest votive deposits from the temple of Athena area belong to the ninth century, and these also suggest plurality rather than cultural purity. Amongst the various votive objects dedicated at the sanctuary were bronze figurines and plaques from northern Syria made in a Neo-Hittite style, Phrygian fibulae, Greek terracotta figurines, Egyptian bronze statuettes and Cypriote bronzes.⁵¹ One of the north Syrian plaques is of particular interest. It bears a classic Syro-Mesopotamian image of three nude goddesses, a motif associated with the goddess Astarte. What is particularly interesting about this plaque is that it seems to be inscribed with Luwian hieroglyphs, as identified by David Hawkins.⁵² The inscription is fragmentary and is yet to be properly published, and so it is currently unclear whether the plaque was inscribed at Miletus itself at the time of its deposition, or before it was exported from Syria. As Luwian hieroglyphs were in use in the Hittite successor kingdoms of the region, we might initially expect the inscription to have been made in Syria itself. However, if it turns out that the inscription is a dedicatory one, then it may be possible that it was inscribed at Miletus. This would raise significant questions about whether individuals in Miletus may have understood the Luwian script. Needless to say, none of the dedicated items at the temple of Athena tell us about the ethnicity of the people who dedicated them. They are, however, indicative of the wide and complex network of interaction and exchange that the Milesians were

⁵⁰ Rectilinear houses: Hommel, 1959/60: 38–9.

⁵¹ For the finds in the early phases of the temple of Athena, see Held 2000: Phrygian fibula (p. 122); Greek terracottas (pp. 124–6); Egyptian bronzes (p. 127); north Syrian bronzes (pp. 127–36); Cypriote bronzes (p. 137).

⁵² For the inscribed plaque see Held 2000: 132–4. See Herda 2009: 80 n308 for the Luwian inscription.

involved in during this time. They also demonstrate that the Milesians were less interested in maintaining cultural purity than with dedicating the choicest objects to the goddess.

By the time that the Ionian Migration is supposed to have happened in the EIA, Miletus had already seen several centuries of immigration from different areas of the Aegean. It would have been a mixed and cosmopolitan settlement, well integrated into both the Aegean and Anatolian spheres as well as within wider networks stretching out across the Near East. Upon arrival, any new migrants from the Aegean would have found a mixed population, already including Aegean as well as Anatolian elements. The archaeological record suggests that cultural diversity continued into the EIA in both cult and domestic life. Any ethnic conflict that may have happened at the initial moment of migration therefore did not transform the settlement into a monocultural enclave, and whatever tension there may have been clearly did not lead to the wholesale ethnic cleansing suggested by the stories of Herodotus and Pherecydes.

Violent stories reflecting a violent present?

It seems that ethnic tension was not a central defining characteristic of LBA and EIA Miletus. The violence in Miletus' foundation myths does not appear to reflect the historical reality of social life at the time of the Ionian Migration. However, even if this had been the case, and even if we did assume that the texts offered an accurate portrayal of historical fact, this would not account for violence in the myths. Historical accuracy and social memory would not, in themselves, be adequate explanations for the violence in these stories. We would still need to explain why this aspect of the story was maintained within the oral tradition over the centuries, and why it was selected for inclusion in the literary versions that have been preserved. As mentioned in [Chapter 2](#), during the processes of oral transmission some elements are inevitably left out, others are inserted, and yet others change in their significance or emphasis. At a remove of many generations from the events themselves, each element will only be transmitted if it is selected for re-telling, and it will only be so selected if it resonates in its contemporary context. Telling violent foundation stories during the archaic and classical periods must therefore be understood as a deliberate choice, whatever the historical accuracy or otherwise of the stories. In the context of a colonial foundation, it might seem more logical to play down a violent or oppressive past, and offer more conciliatory versions of history instead. This certainly

seems to have been the approach favoured in Pausanias' story about Erythrae. Therefore, if even these stories do indeed tell the truth about the violence, this still must have been the result of a conscious choice rather than passive transmission.

Could it be, therefore, that these violent tales of the Ionian Migration to Miletus are more indicative of the times in which they were written rather than the times they were written about? Might these stories of conflict between Greeks and Anatolians in the distant past actually reflect tension between the groups in the present? Could intercommunal tension during the archaic and classical periods lie behind the violence of the foundation myths?

There is some evidence for tension and the threat of violence at Miletus in the archaic period, when early forms of the stories eventually told by Herodotus and Pherecydes would have been in circulation. In the third quarter of the seventh century, massive stone fortification walls were built around the city.⁵³ In addition, during the seventh century it also seems that weapons were dedicated in Milesian sanctuaries for the first time – discs that appear to be decorated shield bosses have been found in the sanctuary of Aphrodite from this period.⁵⁴ However, signs of warfare in seventh-century Miletus do not necessarily imply inter-ethnic conflict between the Ionian Greek and local Carian elements within the population. Indeed, such intercommunal violence seems unlikely given the contemporary historical context. The seventh century saw the steady expansion of the Lydian Empire based in Sardis, and frequent Lydian campaigns against the Ionian cities. During this period, the Lydian kings Sadyattes and Alyattes are said to have attacked Miletus seasonally for twelve years, devastating the countryside and burning the crops, before finally agreeing a peace with the city (Hdt 1.18–19). The erection of fortification walls and the dedication of weapons is therefore much more likely to be due to the Lydian threat than to ethnic tension at home. If anything, relationships between different groups within the Milesian population are likely to have been improved by the presence of an external threat, as probably happened in the LBA with the Hittites.

But warfare at Miletus does not seem to have been confined to the seventh century. The sixth century also saw fighting around the city, and this time the literary sources explicitly state that the conflict was between different sections of Milesian society. Herodotus tells us that two generations before the Persian conquest of Anatolia, Miletus had been riven with factional strife, a situation only remedied by a delegation of fair-minded Parians

⁵³ See von Gerkan 1935 and Blüm 1999 for the city walls of Miletus. ⁵⁴ Greaves 2010: 148.

adjudicating the dispute in a formal arbitration (Hdt 5.28–9). It has been argued by some scholars that the warring factions at Miletus were based along ethnic lines, with the oppressed native inhabitants of the countryside rising up against the wealthier Greek citizens of the city itself.⁵⁵ If this were the case, this would certainly cast the violence in the foundation myths of the city in a new light. It would imply that the conflict and tension of the present found expression in the telling of stories about the mythic and distant past, and would explain why the Carian-killer Neileus was such an attractive figure for the hard-pressed Ionian population. However, an ethnic interpretation of the factional fighting seems unsatisfactory. Heracleides of Pontus, writing in the fourth century (but preserved as a fragment in the text of Athenaeus 12.26), instead frames the conflict as a class war. The rich citizens of the city, Heracleides tells us, did not like the idea of equality, and it was this that won the hostility of the rest of the general populace, who were referred to at the time as the ‘Gergithae’.⁵⁶ The account of the conflict given by Plutarch makes the economic nature of the tension even clearer (Plutarch, *Quaest. Gr.* 32). He names the two political parties that were fighting for control as Plutis (wealth) and Cheiromacha (hand-workers), and specifies that the aristocratic party was eventually victorious. It therefore seems that while there was some civil strife at Miletus in the sixth century, it was derived from socio-economic factors rather than ethnic tension.

The conquest of Ionia by the Persians in 494 bc meant that throughout the fifth and fourth centuries, any fighting or violence at Miletus was once more unlikely to be connected to Ionian–Carian tension. Instead, it was usually linked to revolts from and interventions of external powers (both Persian and Greek). The Ionian Revolt against the Persians and the Milesian revolt against the Delian League, for example, were both instances where the polis as a whole took on an external foe.

But not only is there an absence of evidence for ethnic tension, there is in fact a growing body of evidence that suggests the opposite. Far from being at each other’s throats, the Ionian and Carian elements within Miletus’ population seem to have lived peacefully alongside each other in the archaic and classical periods, so much so that it is not always clear what and who

⁵⁵ Robertson 1987: 374–8.

⁵⁶ Robertson 1987: 374–8 suggests that this name indicates an Anatolian ethnicity for the general populace, citing similarities with the name of a particular Carian town in the uplands. However, this argument is unconvincing as it does not explain why the whole population would have been designated by the name of one obscure town, or why Heracleides makes no mention of Carians or ethnicity in the passage, instead explicitly describing this as a conflict between the rich and the rest of the population.

belonged to which category. For example, there seems to have been a long-standing acceptance within the Greek texts that Miletus was not, and never had been, a wholly Greek settlement, and with this came an open acknowledgement of Carian heritage. Indeed, the earliest surviving reference to Miletus explicitly states that it is a Carian, rather than a Greek, settlement. In the *Iliad*, one of the Trojan allies listed was Nastes the Carian:

Νάστης αὖ Καρῶν ἡγήσατο βαρβαρόφωνων,
οἳ Μίλητον ἔχον Φθιρῶν τ' ὄρος ἀκριτόφυλλον
Μαιάνδρου τε ῥοᾶς Μυκάλης τ' αἰπρινὰ κάρηνα:

Nastes led the foreign-speaking [βαρβαρόφωνων] Carians,
Who occupied Miletus and the leafy mountain of Phthiries
And the streams of the Maeander, and the high peaks of Mykale.
(Homer, *Iliad* 2.867–8)

By the time the *Iliad* was composed and formalised, Miletus would already have been widely thought of as an Ionian polis. However, this passage tells us that the city was nonetheless still represented as a place that had a long and proud non-Greek past, a place that had once been the seat of Carian kings.⁵⁷ It also tells us that the city of Miletus was perceived, not as a city separated from and at odds with its hinterland, but closely integrated into the landscape around it. Miletus, the mountains of Pthires and Mykale, and

⁵⁷ This passage from the *Iliad* contains the earliest mention of a word derived from the βάρβαρο- root, as well as the first mention of Miletus. Homer's use of the word βαρβαρόφωνος might imply the existence of a root word βάρβαρος, and on this basis it could be argued that the concept of the Barbarian can be dated back to the eighth century bc. However, there is no evidence for the derivation of βαρβαρόφωνος one way or the other. It is possible that βαρβαρόφωνος existed as a term in its own right, and that the shorter βάρβαρος was actually a later derivation from this longer word (Dörrie 1972: 147–8 argues this view). It has also been suggested that the word is a later interpolation in the text, as part of a deliberate attempt to heighten the Panhellenic rhetoric (Bengtson 1954: 29–30). Finally, it has been suggested that in this context βαρβαρόφωνος implies merely speaking with a harsh accent, rather than speaking a foreign language (Lévy 1984). It is worth noting in this context that Thucydides did not think that Homer was familiar with the idea of the Barbarian (Thuc 1.3). In any case, it is unclear what significance the words βάρβαρος or βαρβαρόφωνος may have had in the eighth century – they may not necessarily have had associations of the barbaric, as they would have in the fifth century. Instead, they may simply have denoted the strange and the unfamiliar, without any derogatory implications. Sourvinou-Inwood (2005: 41–2) and Herda (2013: 429) argued that this passage of the *Iliad* displays all the characteristic negative traits that would later come to be associated with barbarians, and suggests that territorial disputes between Ionians and Carians can explain this negative characterisation. However, the argument of a 'negative' characterisation depends on wealth and femininity having negative associations. It is anachronistic to assume that this is the case, especially given the evidence that Ionians of the Iron Age and archaic period did not view wealth and femininity as such (see Chapter 6 and Baughan 2011).

the Maeander River were all described as united within a single political entity.

Within the archaic and classical periods themselves, Carian language and script both seem to have been used in Miletus. At Miletus' epichoric sanctuary of Apollo at Didyma, a sixth-century graffito in Carian has been uncovered from Didyma.⁵⁸ The reading of the graffito itself is not completely clear, as it has not been preserved in its entirety, but its presence at Didyma does point to the continued use of Carian as both language and script into the archaic period. The use of Carian in the area seems to have continued into the later classical period as well, as attested by a second graffito dating to the fourth century, this time found at Miletus itself.⁵⁹ It does seem that Carian, or some variant of it, was still used at Miletus throughout the classical period.

In addition to this, individuals with Carian names also appear at Miletus in both classical and later periods. The earliest example recorded is Examyes, the father of the Milesian sage Thales (Diogenes Laertius 1.28). A century or so after Examyes' time, an eponymic list from the Delphinion at Miletus records the eponymous official of 459/8 as one Dionysius, son of Massarabis.⁶⁰ It is significant from both of these examples that naming practices did not follow ethnic patterns, and that within a single family individuals could have both Greek- and Carian-derived names. It is also significant that having a father with a Carian name was no barrier to advancement in Milesian society – Thales was one of the foremost men in the city in his day, and Dionysius is recorded as occupying one of the highest civic offices in the city. Another family with a similar mix of names is found in a fourth-century dedication to Aphrodite Chrysanthe. A woman with a Carian name, Paryo, is recorded as setting up the dedicatory statue along with her Greek-named husband, Athenaios, and her equally Greek-named daughter, Hestiaie.⁶¹ Other individuals with Carian names at Miletus include Androssos, whose funerary stele was erected in the fifth century in the necropolis;⁶² Adas son of Menandros, whose funerary inscription was erected in the Hellenistic period;⁶³ and Julia Artemo Ada, who set up an inscription along with her husband in the theatre in the second century BC.⁶⁴

⁵⁸ Adiego Lajara 2007, no. 11.

⁵⁹ For the Carian inscription, see Herda and Sauter 2009 and Blümel 2010.

⁶⁰ *I.Milet³*, no. 122, side 1, line 65. It has been suggested that Dionysius can be linked to a Carian god, Masaris. This would mean that both father and son in this inscription would be named for the same god, simply translated from one language into the other. For this argument, see Herda 2009: 79 and 94 with n259.

⁶¹ See Herda 2009: 101. ⁶² *I.Milet²*, no. 407. ⁶³ *I.Milet³*, no. 1404. ⁶⁴ *I.Milet²*, no. 937.

Beyond the evidence from personal names and script, there are numerous aspects of Milesian society and culture that derive from indigenous Anatolian traditions. The religious sphere offers a particularly good illustration of this. The cult of Apollo at Didyma, for example, seems to have been established in the Middle Bronze Age, and ritual activity is attested here from this time onwards.⁶⁵ The cult, therefore, had already been a well-established part of the Milesian ritual landscape for centuries before the putative arrival of Ionian settlers, and certainly long before the emergence of a conscious Ionian identity. But whatever the facts of the matter, it is equally significant that Greek authors seem to have perceived Didyma as an ancient Anatolian oracle which pre-dated the Ionian Migration and had been established ‘from ancient times’ (ἐκ παλαιού: Hdt 1.157; see also Paus 7.2.6). The priestly family of the Branchidae who administered the sanctuary also claimed an ancient autochthonous origin. Although no accounts of it survive from the archaic and classical periods, the story of the eponymous Branchos was told by the mythographer Konon in the first century BC (*FGrHist* 26 F133) and alluded to by Strabo (14.1.5). The name of the Branchidae itself is also significant, as it seems to be derived from Luwian. The cult of Apollo seems to have incorporated diverse traditions both within the city of Miletus and at the epichoric sanctuary of Didyma. Elements within the worship of Apollo Delphinion (as the civic cult was known) can be dated back to Hittite practices of the LBA.⁶⁶

The material culture and visual styles favoured at Miletus also seem to have drawn from Anatolian as well as from Aegean traditions. Indeed, there are many similarities in the forms and types of material culture found in the urban centre of Ionian Miletus (which is usually considered to be Greek) and those from Carian sites further inland (which are usually thought of as Carian and therefore non-Greek). The Ionian polis and its Carian neighbours seem to have shared tastes, fashions, manufacturing traditions and social norms. Architectural decoration at nearby Carian settlements, for example, is not easily distinguishable from that of Miletus. Terracotta roof tiles used at the inland Carian sites of Euromos, Mylasa and Hacıbayramlar were produced from the same moulds and workshops as tiles used at Miletus.⁶⁷ Fineware ceramics also illustrate this lack of ethnic divergence in material culture, and

⁶⁵ Herda 2006a.

⁶⁶ Herda 2008. Indeed, it has been argued that Apollo himself was originally an Anatolian deity, who was ‘exported’ to the Aegean sometime after the Bronze Age. Evidence cited for this includes the absence of Apollo’s name from Linear B documents, and the linguistic similarities between the name Apollo and the Hittite/Luwian name Apulunas or Appaliunas. For a discussion of this, see Bryce 2006: 119.

⁶⁷ Ateşlier 2011: 286–7. For similarities between Ionian and Carian architectural terracottas more generally, see Ateşlier 2010.

many of these ceramic styles and techniques are as familiar from the Carian hinterland of the city as from the urban centre. Fikellura and Wild Goat Styles of fineware pottery, for example, are similar whether they were produced in the city or in the countryside.⁶⁸ It is not clear therefore whether the people who made, commissioned and used these ceramics would necessarily have thought of themselves as Greek rather than Carian. The pottery itself may not have been invested with ethnic significance – it may simply have been viewed as Milesian.⁶⁹ Just as in the EIA it was not possible to place an ethnic label on the oval houses, it is similarly difficult to make ethnic distinctions for the material culture of the archaic and classical periods.

The Carian past, Carian language and names, and Carian-derived aspects of ritual practice were all part of the cultural mix in archaic and classical Miletus. Both Greek and Carian elements were integrated into a hybrid local culture that was particularly Milesian, so it is not always possible to distinguish between what may have been considered ‘Ionian’ and what ‘Carian’. The ambiguity between Ionian and Carian elements at Miletus seems to have been acknowledged by its own residents. Hecataeus, describing his home city in the sixth century, called it an Ionian city, but at the same time explicitly located it in Caria, referring to it as ‘a city of the Ionians found in Caria’ (πόλις ἐπιφανής ἐν Καρίαί τῶν Ἴωνων. Ἑκαταῖος Ἀσῖαι: *FGrHist* 1 F240). Not only is there an absence of evidence for ethnic tension between Ionians and Carians at Miletus, then, there even seem to have been areas of ambiguity between the two. The lines that divided Ionian from Carian were indeed blurred.

Whether Ionian, Carian or a hybrid mix of the two, Milesians maintained good relations with other native Anatolian groups from the second half of the archaic period onwards. Interactions with the Lydians, for example, may have been tense in the seventh century, but became more cordial at the beginning of the sixth. Despite having waged war on the Milesians for many years, the Lydian king Alyattes was eventually reconciled with them and built two temples for Athena at Assesos, a nearby settlement in the Milesian hinterland (Hdt 1.22). His son, Croesus, remained on good terms with the Milesians and dedicated at Didyma (Hdt 1.92). There is even a tradition that the Milesian sage Thales accompanied Croesus on some of his campaigns (Hdt 1.75). A Lydian inscription has been found on the hill of Kalabaktepe dating from the sixth century, suggesting the use of the Lydian language

⁶⁸ Fazlioğlu 2007.

⁶⁹ For Miletus as a centre for ceramic production in the EIA, see above, and for the EIA and archaic period, see Akurgal et al. 2002 and Greaves 2010: 214.

within the city.⁷⁰ In addition, high-ranking individuals from Miletus sometimes were given (or took) Lydian names. For example, on the same list of *stephanophoroi* from Miletus mentioned above, one priest appears with the name Sadyattes son of Kallithemios. The use of Lydian names seems to have continued from the fifth into the fourth century, as the same inscription lists a certain Deilochos son of Sadyattes, whose eponymic year would have been 363–362 BC.⁷¹ The name Sadyattes had belonged to a Lydian king of the seventh century, and would have certainly been recognised as Lydian by the population of the city. We cannot know, of course, whether these individuals may have come from Lydia, or claimed Lydian origins or ancestry. It is possible that they adopted the name without any claim to either. What is significant, however, is that it was socially acceptable for a leading member of Milesian society, occupying a prominent position and holding an important public office, to have a Lydian name. In addition to this, Lydian links are referenced in the introduction of a new phratry, the Tylonoι, its name deriving from the name of a Lydian hero, Tylos.⁷²

The cosmopolitan nature of Miletus meant that the city was also open to cultural influences from beyond Anatolia and the Aegean. No less than in the EIA, archaic and classical Miletus was a great emporium, with wide-ranging networks of trade and exchange. Milesian colonies were dotted around the shores of the Black Sea and the central Mediterranean, and Milesian merchants were active in the Levant and Egypt. The city was a cosmopolitan centre that embraced external cultural influences from beyond just the Aegean and Anatolia. Significantly, it appears that there were even some alternative versions of the story of Neileus himself, claiming an alternative origin for the supposed ‘Ionian’ founder of the city. In his *Life of Thales*, Diogenes Laertius cites a tradition that both the sage Thales and Neileus were not actually Ionians, or even Hellenes at all, but rather Phoenician exiles who came to live at Miletus (necessarily after it had already been founded) and were granted citizenship there:

ἐπολιτογραφήθη δὲ ἐν Μιλήτῳ, ὅτε ἦλθε σὺν Νεῖλῳ ἐκπεσόντι Φοινίκης: ὡς δ’ οἱ πλείους φασίν, ἰθαγενῆς Μιλήσιος ἦν καὶ γένους λαμπροῦ.

He [Thales] enrolled [as] a citizen at Miletus when he came with Neileus who had been exiled from Phoenicia. Most people say, however, that he was a trueborn Milesian and from an illustrious family. (Diogenes Laertius 1.1 (*Life of Thales*))

⁷⁰ Adiego 1997.

⁷¹ *I.Milet*³, no. 122. Sadyattes son of Kallithemios (column I, 105). Deilichos son of Sadyattes (column II, 52).

⁷² Huxley 1966: 202 n81; the inscription can be found in *I.Didyma* no.342.

As Diogenes wrote in the third century AD, we cannot be sure whether this tradition of Neileus as a Phoenician circulated in the archaic and classical periods. However, the story of Thales being a Phoenician was certainly known in classical times – Herodotus mentioned his Levantine origin (Hdt 1.170). Indeed, Diogenes Laertius cited earlier authors for his story of the Phoenician Neileus who wrote in the fourth or third centuries BC – Douris of Samos (*FGrHist* 76 F74) and Maiandrios (*FGrHist* 492 F17). Indeed, in Strabo we find a third tradition about the origins of Neileus, claiming that he came to Ionia directly from Pylos, rather than via Athens and the Codrig line (Strabo 14.1.3). It is significant that even Neileus, the very figurehead of the Ionian Migration at Miletus, could potentially have ambiguous origins. This would have been appropriate, matching the ambiguity and plurality in the foundation traditions of the city itself.

Stories of conflict and cooperation

Ethnic tension and intercommunal conflict, then, does not appear to have been a major feature of either Miletus' LBA and EIA past, or of its archaic and classical present. How, then, are we to interpret the violence of its foundation myths, if they are not a reflection of actual violence and real-life conflict? In [Chapter 2](#), I pointed out that foundation myths can be more indicative of the time they were written in than of that about which they were written. It was also mentioned that they may tell us more about ideology than reality – more about what people may have wanted the city to be than what it was really like. If these violent foundation myths do not accurately reflect the reality of inter-ethnic relations at Miletus, could they then express an ideal? The vision of Ionians violently oppressing Carians, Greeks dominating Barbarians, was one that would have resonated with many Greeks from the fifth century onwards. The ideology of Greeks as both opposed and opposite to barbarians was a feature of political rhetoric in the classical period. Might these stories therefore articulate an ideal relationship between Ionians and Carians at Miletus, even if the reality was somewhat different? Did certain sections of the Milesian population bemoan the cultural plurality of their own time, consoling themselves by telling stories about a distant past when ethnic relations were more rigid and asymmetrical? Such a situation may indeed be imagined, conjuring parallels with far-right movements in the modern world. It could be argued that such a situation may have arisen at Miletus in the fifth century, following the Persian sack of the city in retribution for the Ionian Revolt in 494 (see [Chapter 3](#)). In such a context, one could

imagine that an anti-Barbarian sentiment may have taken hold at Miletus, and that foundation myths celebrating Greek domination of non-Greeks may have become attractive.

If Milesians did harbour anti-Persian sentiments in the fifth century, it seems that these did not translate into a more general anti-Barbarian ideology. Close interaction with Carians and Lydians, as we have already seen, continued throughout the classical period, and does not seem to have undergone any dramatic change following the Ionian Revolt. As already described, Carian and Lydian names were still used, and inscriptions in Carian and Lydian have been found. The Carian past of the city was readily acknowledged, and overall there seems to have been little distinction made between Carian and Ionian elements of the Milesian population. Not all non-Greeks were the same, and Carians and Lydians were certainly distinct from Persians.

This seems to have been reflected in the wider corpus of Milesian foundation myths, many of which explicitly recognise the plurality in Milesian society and celebrate the indigenous and non-Greek parts of civic history. For example, there seems to have been an alternative story that cast Miletus as a very ancient city, founded and occupied long before the arrival of the Ionians. Herodorus of Heraclea, writing in the late fifth or early fourth century BC, records an alternative version in which Milesian origins have precious little to do with either Neileus or the idea of a violent Ionian Migration:

καὶ δ' ἄλλω δύο παῖδε Ποσειδάωνος ἴκοντο· ἦτοι ὁ μὲν πτολίεθρον ἀγαθοῦ Μιλήτιο νοσφισθεὶς Ἐργῖνος, ὁ δ' ἰμβρασίης ἕδος Ἥρης Παρθενίην Ἀγκαῖος ὑπέρβιος . . . ἡ δὲ Μίλητος τὸ παλαιὸν Πιτυοῦσσα ἐκαλεῖτο. ὁ δὲ Μίλητος Εὐξαντίου τοῦ Μίνως . . . οἱ δὲ φασιν αὐτὸν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρείας τῆς Κλεόχου. ἐκλήθη δὲ Μίλητος ὅτι ἐκρύβη ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς ἐν μίλακι. οἱ δὲ φασιν ὑπὸ Σαρπηδόνης τοῦ Διὸς Μίλητον κτισθῆναι, ὀνομασθεῖσαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Κρήτῃ. ὀνομασθῆναι δὲ αὐτὴν πρῶτον λέγουσι Πιτυοῦσσαν, οἱ δὲ Ἀστερίαν, εἴτα Ἀνακτόριον, εἴτα Μίλητον. καὶ Ἀριστόκριτός φησιν ὅτι Ἀρεία θυγάτηρ ἐγένετο Κλεόχου, ἧς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος γενέσθαι βρέφος· καὶ τοῦτο ἐκτεθῆναι εἰς μίλακα· τὸν δὲ Κλεόχον ἀνελεσθαι καὶ ὀνομάσαι ἀπὸ τῆς μίλακος Μίλητον. τοῦτον δὲ ἀνδρωθέντα καὶ φθονούμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Μίνως ἀναχωρῆσαι εἰς τὴν Σάμον, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τόπος ἐστὶ Μίλητος. καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Σάμου μεταβὰς εἰς τὴν Καρίαν ἔκτισε πόλιν, Μίλητον ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ καλέσας. μαρτυρεῖ Ἡρόδωρος.

And two other sons of Poseidon came [on the voyage of the *Argo*]; one was Erginos who left from the citadel of noble Miletus, the other was the super-strong Ankaïos from Parthenie, the seat of Imbrasion Hera . . . Miletus was called Pityoussa in ancient times. Miletus, son of Euxantios son of Minos . . . they say he was the son of Apollo and Areia the daughter of Kleoxos. Miletus was called this because he was hidden by his mother inside a holm oak [ἐν μίλακι]. They say that Sarpedon, son of

Zeus, founded Miletus, and named it for the one in Crete. They say that it was first named Pityoussa or some say Asteria, then Anaktorios, then Miletus. And Aristokritos says that Areia was the daughter of Kleochos, and the child was born to her and Apollo. And that he was left out in a holm oak. Kleochos took him in and named him after the holm oak, Miletus. When he came to manhood and was envied by Minos, he left his homeland for Samos, where after him there is a place called Miletus. And from Samos he went over to Caria and founded a city, naming it Miletus after himself. Herodorus is witness of these things. (Herodorus *FGrHist* 31 F45)

In this passage, Herodorus offers us three alternative moments when Miletus was founded. Firstly, there is the ancient city, which seems to have existed in the deepest past. Erginos, one of Poseidon's sons, is said to have left from his initial home in Miletus and travelled to Boeotia, where he became the king of Orchomenos.⁷³ We have no preserved comments about the moment of foundation for that most ancient city, Miletus, as all Herodorus seems to say is that it existed, that it was called Pityoussa at the time, and that Erginos travelled from it to mainland Greece. It is perhaps interesting to note that in Herodorus' story, this migration happens in the opposite direction to the Ionian Migration – founders move westwards from Anatolia to Greece. We are told more about the second foundation, as Herodorus reports that the Cretan hero Sarpedon is said to have founded the city. The name of Sarpedon's city is not stated – we are told that it was named after a city in Crete. This is presumably a reference to the settlement of Miletus in Crete, but this is not made completely clear, given that the name of the city seems to have undergone more changes, from either Pityoussa or Asteria to Anaktorios and then Miletus. Finally, a third episode of foundation is mentioned, where the eponymous Miletus officially founded (ἔκτισε) the city that was to bear his name. He is said to have been the son of the god Apollo, and to have travelled to Caria from Crete by way of Samos. It is possible that the foundation by Sarpedon and that by Miletus may be parts of the same story, as later texts sometimes bring the two together. However, as far as we can tell from this passage, it seems that Herodorus presented both as possible founders (rather than co-founders of the same foundation). In this passage, then, we are presented with three different foundations for Miletus, none of which involve the Ionians. Indeed, the city is presented as far older than the Ionian Migration, as all of the characters involved were thought to pre-date the Ionian Migration according to the traditional mythic chronology. Instead, Herodorus casts the

⁷³ In some versions of the story, Erginos is said to be the son of Clymnus, the previous king of Orchomenos. However, Herodorus' version where Erginos is a Milesian and a son of Poseidon seems to have held some traction into the Hellenistic period and beyond: Apollonius of Rhodes 1.185; Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 1.9.16.

foundation of the city back into the mists of time, either as a mysterious place inhabited by the son of Poseidon, or as a city founded by one of two Cretan adventurers in the time of Minos. There is no place in this story for Neileus, the Ionians or a violent conquest.

In general, there seems to have been a widespread recognition that the city was not a new foundation in the time of the Ionian Migration. Several other authors seem willing to recognise the primacy of non-Ionians at Miletus. The mythographer Konon is one of these. Writing in the first centuries BC and AD, he compiled a range of older stories from the works of previous mythographers. Like Herodorus, he also makes mention of an eponymous hero at Miletus. However, unlike Herodorus, this eponymous hero is not a foreign migrant from Crete. Instead, he appears as the leader of the indigenous Carian population:

δεύτερον τὰ περὶ Βυβλίδος, ὡς παῖς ἦν Μιλήτῳ ἔχουσα ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀδελφὸν Καῦνον. ὠίκουν δὲ Μίλητον τῆς Ἀσίας, ἣν ὕστερον μὲν Ἴωνες καὶ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν μετὰ Νηλέως ὀρμηθέντες ὠίκησαν, τότε δ' ἐνέμοντο Κᾶρες, ἔθνος μέγα κωμηδὸν οἰκοῦντες. Καύνῳ δ' ἔρως ἐγείρεται ἀμήχανος τῆς ἀδελφῆς Βυβλίδος . . .

The second story is about Byblis, daughter of Miletus, who besides had a brother Kaunos. They lived at Miletus in Asia, which was later inhabited by a movement of Ionians from Athens with Neileus, but then was occupied by Carians, a numerous people who lived in villages. Kaunos developed an unmanageable love for his sister Byblis . . . (Konon *FGrHist* 26 F1.2)

The main focus of Konon's story is the incestuous relationship between Byblis and Kaunos, the children of the eponymous Miletus. However, in the course of telling this story, Konon mentions the eponymous Miletus casually, as well as the fact that the settlement was at the time inhabited by Carians. As the Carians are described as living in 'villages', Konon leaves plenty of space for the official foundation of Miletus as a polis by the arriving Ionians. This is not, then, a passage which necessarily denies the importance of the Ionian Migration or writes the Ionians out of Milesian history. But it does present an image of Miletus as a place long inhabited before the coming of the Ionians and with a rich indigenous history. Other later texts which ascribe the foundation of Miletus to an eponymous autochthon include Pausanias (7.2.5), who stated that the Milesians themselves claimed an autochthonous founder called Anax, and the Byzantine compendium, the *Eklogē Historiōn* (vol. 2, p. 193, lines 29–30). This idea of layered foundations, and different groups coming to live in the city at different times, is one that recurs in a number of other texts. Ephorus of Kyme, writing in the fourth century BC, seems to have presented a similar picture:

φησὶ δ' Ἐφορος τὸ πρῶτον κτίσμα εἶναι Κρητικόν, ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης τετειχισμένον, ὅπου νῦν ἡ πάλαι Μίλητός ἐστιν, Σαρπηδόνας ἐκ Μιλήτου τῆς Κρητικῆς ἀγαγόντος οἰκῆτορας καὶ θεμένου τοῖονμα τῇ πόλει τῆς ἐκεῖ πόλεως ἐπώνυμον, κατεχόντων πρότερον Λελέγων τὸν τόπον· τοὺς δὲ περὶ Νηλέα ὕστερον τὴν νῦν τειχίσαι πόλιν.

Ephorus said that it [Miletus] was first founded by Cretans, and fortified above the sea, where now the old Miletus is located, where Sarpedon had led settlers from the Cretan Miletus and called the one city after the name of the other city, the place previously being occupied by the Leleges. Neileus and his men later fortified the current city. (Ephorus *FGrHist* 70 F127)

The place, Ephorus tells us, was already inhabited by the Leleges, before the ancient settlement was founded by Cretans under Sarpedon and given the name Miletus, and at a later point still the Ionians under Neileus arrived and fortified the city in its current location. The implication is that Miletus has undergone several phases of change – the place (τόπον) occupied by the Leleges; the ancient settlement (ἡ πάλαι Μίλητός) of the Cretans; and the present city of the Ionians (πόλιν). Like that of Konon, Ephorus' foundation narrative also culminates in the arrival of the Ionians and the establishment of Miletus as an Ionian city, a full polis with all the attendant bells and whistles. However, like Konon again, it also recognises the prior presence of other groups on the site and acknowledges their role in the city's history.⁷⁴

All three of the passages considered in this section describe non-Ionian groups founding Miletus before the arrival of the Ionians. These groups, whether Carian, Lelegian or Cretan, are openly acknowledged in these texts as the original founders of the city. Of course, an Ionian presence in the later city is not denied in these accounts, but primacy is nonetheless granted to the indigenous people, followed by the Cretans, and these groups are therefore accorded a certain status and importance. In addition, it is significant that in these texts there is no mention of violence in the transition from one phase of Milesian history to the next. Neither Herodorus, Konon nor Ephorus tells us that the arrival of a new population involved the oppression or displacement of previous groups. Unlike the passages from Herodotus and Pherecydes we considered at the start of this chapter, none of these versions makes a point of describing conflict, oppression and ethnic tension. These stories therefore offer an alternative vision of Milesian origins to the bloodthirsty accounts of Herodotus and Pherecydes, in which non-Ionian groups are given status and recognition as the previous inhabitants of the land, and

⁷⁴ Other authors who connect the foundation of Miletus to Cretans include: Maiandrios of Miletus *FGrHist* 184 F10; Aristokritos *FGrHist* 493 F3; Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 3.1–2; Pausanias 7.2.5; Antoninus Liberalis, *Metamorphoses* 30.1–2.

no importance whatsoever is placed on hostility or conflict between ethnic groups. Violence was not the only way of seeing Milesian origins. A different, non-violent narrative was also available.⁷⁵ This alternative narrative fits much more comfortably within the context of archaic and classical Miletus than Herodotus' and Pherecydes' tales of ethnic dominance and simmering hatreds.

Indeed, there are signs that some Milesians were attracted to the idea of autochthonous origins, and that some chose to emphasise ancestral ties to the landscape over links to incoming migrants. Just one strategy of political self-aggrandisement may have been to adopt personal names with a Neileid connection; an alternative strategy seems to have been to adopt personal names that were linked instead to Miletus as a place, as a part of the Anatolian landscape. Names derived from the River Maeander were particularly common at Miletus, constituting one-seventh of all known personal names before 500 BC.⁷⁶ One of the earliest inscriptions from Miletus illustrates this trend neatly, and is to be found on a statue base from the Sacred Way to Didyma, recording the dedication of the statue group in question by one Anaximandros, son of Mandromachos (literally: ruler-of-the-Maeander, son of Maeander-warrior). Similarly, the name of the local historian, Maeandrios of Miletus, also exemplifies this fashion for riverine names. In addition to these, many other Maeander-related names are also attested at Miletus. These can either be compounded with a -mandros suffix (e.g. Aglomandros, Diomandros, Themisthomandros), or with a Mandr-prefix (e.g. Mandragores, Mandrippos, Mandrodikos).⁷⁷ It seems, then, that there was not only an alternative foundation tradition that stressed indigenous origins, autochthony and integration into the wider Anatolian landscape, but also that many Milesians saw themselves as connected with this landscape, as people of the Maeander river valley.

⁷⁵ Some commentators have tried to integrate all of the various foundation myths for Miletus into one single narrative, using this as the basis for a historical account of the city's early history (see Sourvinou-Inwood 2005: 268–309 for a detailed exposition). However, as has already been mentioned, this exercise somewhat misses the significance of having alternative versions and different myths in dialogue with each other. In addition, many of these studies do not consider the possible changes in mythic discourse over time. The claims of a Byzantine scholiast, for example, are no guide to what stories were in circulation in antiquity.

⁷⁶ See Thonemann 2006 and 2011: 27–9 for information on the potamonyms derived from the Maeander. Thonemann argues that the popularity of Maeander-related names can be explained by the fact that the Maeander basin was contested territory in the archaic period. While this might certainly have been a contributing factor, I would argue that it also necessarily implies something about the way people in Miletus related to the landscape around them.

⁷⁷ Several of these individuals seem to have been of high status, for example the magistrate who issued staters bearing his name, Maiandrios, in the late third or early second century BC.

In archaic and classical Miletus, there is not only an absence of evidence for ethnic tension between Ionians and Carians, there is also positive evidence for a blurred distinction between the two. Furthermore, the Milesians seem to have embraced their own cultural plurality and diverse origins in the wider discourse of city foundation. The foundation traditions are in themselves plural – several different myths were in circulation, each recounting a different version of the city's past. In addition, some of these stories explicitly described a past that was plural and mixed. It seems that Neileus and the Ionian Migration were an important part of civic identity, but so too were migrants from elsewhere in the Aegean as well as indigenous Anatolians. And despite the stories of various immigrant groups, these myths do not communicate a sense of rupture and estrangement between the city and its local area. For all the stories of violent colonisation, there were also alternative traditions of peaceful arrival. Stories of conflict were paralleled by stories of cooperation, and depending on the story you chose, the eponymous Miletus himself could either be a newcomer or an autochthon. Indeed, the idea of autochthony and rootedness in the immediate landscape seems to have been attractive for many Milesians, rendering the question of inter-group relations unimportant. These people explicitly identified themselves, not as Ionians, Carians or any other ethnic group, but as people of the Maeander River.

Violence as interaction

The violent stories of Herodotus and Pherecydes are perhaps not as problematic as we might initially think. For us, a twenty-first-century audience with a twenty-first-century mind-set, conflict is the opposite of interaction. We think of violence and warfare in a wholly negative way, and are automatically inclined to interpret stories of fighting between groups as indicative of rupture and separation. This view of violence is socially and historically situated, and was by no means a constant throughout history. There are many examples where societies of different historical periods have espoused attitudes to violence that are different from our own, and many ancient Greek societies can be counted amongst these.⁷⁸ This calls into question the way that we interpret the violence in the Milesian foundation myths. Can we really assume that because these stories feature conflict, they necessarily

⁷⁸ E.g. Ruff 2001 for conceptions of violence in Early Modern Europe. For ideas about violence in the ancient Greek world, see van Wees 1992 and 2004. For more detail on this point, see Chapter 7.

imply separation between the immigrant Ionians and the existing inhabitants of the land? Is it necessarily the case that because the myths contain violence, this implies an Ionian vs. Carian opposition? Must we necessarily conclude that these tales promote the ideology of a clear distinction between Greeks and 'Barbarians'?

Upon closer examination, it seems that violence at the point of migration does not preclude any further interaction or even integration. Instead, it can be seen as a form of interaction, and a starting point for later cultural exchange and mixing. If we return to the passage of Herodotus that we considered at the beginning of this chapter, this can be illustrated. An initial reading of the passage would indeed imply ongoing hostility and conflict between ethnic groups at Miletus. However, this is only a small part of a much bigger story. If we read that particular passage in its wider context, we get a better sense of Herodotus' actual approach to inter-ethnic relations in Ionia:

ἐπεὶ ὥς γέ τι μᾶλλον οὗτοι Ἴωνες εἰσὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἴωνων ἢ κάλλιόν τι γεγονόασι, μωρήν πολλήν λέγειν: τῶν Ἀβαντες μὲν ἐξ Εὐβοίης εἰσὶ οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μοῖρα, τοῖσι Ἴωνίης μέτα οὐδὲ τοῦ οὐνόματος οὐδέν, Μινύαι δὲ Ὀρχομένιοι σφι ἀναμεμίσχεται καὶ Καδμεῖοι καὶ Δρύοπες καὶ Φωκέες ἀποδόσμιοι καὶ Μολοσσοὶ καὶ Ἀρκάδες Πελασγοὶ καὶ Δωριεῖς Ἐπιδαυριοί, ἄλλα τε ἔθνεα πολλὰ ἀναμεμίσχεται: οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρυτανηίου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ὀρμηθέντες καὶ νομίζοντες γενναιότατοι εἶναι Ἴωνων, οὗτοι δὲ οὐ γυναῖκας ἡγάγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀποικίην ἀλλὰ Καείρας ἔσχον, τῶν ἐφόνευσαν τοὺς γονέας. διὰ τοῦτ' οὖν δὲ τὸν φόνον αἱ γυναῖκες αὗται νόμον θέμεναι σφίσι αὐτῇσι ὅρκους ἐπήλασαν καὶ παρέδωκαν τῇσι θυγατράσι, μή κοτε ὁμοσιτῆσαι τοῖσι ἀνδράσι μηδὲ οὐνόματι βῶσαι τὸν ἐωυτῆς ἄνδρα, τοῦδε εἵνεκα ὅτι ἐφόνευσαν σφένων τοὺς πατέρας καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ παῖδας καὶ ἔπειτα ταῦτα ποιήσαντες αὐτῇσι συνοίκεον. ταῦτα δὲ ἦν γινόμενα ἐν Μιλήτῳ. βασιλέας δὲ ἐστήσαντο οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν Λυκίους ἀπὸ Γλαύκου τοῦ Ἱππολόχου γεγονότας, οἱ δὲ Καύκωνας Πυλίου ἀπὸ Κόδρου τοῦ Μελάνθου, οἱ δὲ καὶ συναμφοτέρους. ἀλλὰ γὰρ περιέχονται τοῦ οὐνόματος μᾶλλον τι τῶν ἄλλων Ἴωνων, ἔστωσαν δὴ καὶ οἱ καθαρῶς γεγονότες Ἴωνες. εἰσὶ δὲ πάντες Ἴωνες ὅσοι ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων γεγονάσι καὶ Ἀπατούρια ἄγουσι ὀρτήν. ἄγουσι δὲ πάντες πλὴν Ἐφεσίων καὶ Κολοφωνίων: οὗτοι γὰρ μοῦνοι Ἴωνων οὐκ ἄγουσι Ἀπατούρια, καὶ οὗτοι κατὰ φόνου τινὰ σκῆψιν.

Indeed, it would be very foolish to say that these [the twelve cities of the Ionian League] are more Ionian or of better birth than other Ionians. Not a small number of them are Abantes from Euboea, who are not even Ionians in name, and they are mixed in with Minyans from Orchomenos, Kadmeians, Dryopes, a division of Phocians, Molossians, Pelasgians Arcadians, Dorians from Epidaurus, and many other peoples are mixed in. As for those who started out from the town hall of Athens and think that they are the best born of the Ionians, these men did not bring

women along to their settlements, but took Carian women whose fathers they had killed. Because of this murder, the women made a rule for themselves and enforced it on themselves with an oath (and transmitted it to their daughters) that no one would ever eat with her husband or speak his name, because after murdering their fathers and husbands and children, the men had made them live with them. These things happened at Miletus. As kings, some of them set up Lycians from the line of Glaukos, son of Hippolochos; some set up Pylian Kaukones, the descendants of Codrus son of Melanthus; some indeed choose both. But since they embrace the name more than the other Ionians, let them be Ionians of correct birth. All of the Ionians who are descended from Athens celebrate the festival of the Apatouria. All do celebrate it, except the Ephesians and the Colophonians: for these are the only Ionians who do not celebrate the Apatouria, on the excuse of a certain murder. (Herodotus 1.146–7)

Herodotus argues that any claims of ethnic purity in Ionia owed more to racial ideals than to genetic truth. He describes a vision of Ionia that was characterised by intermarriage and mixing, rather than by strictly defined ethnic boundaries. The Greek immigrants to Anatolia, Herodotus tells us, were from all over Greece, and so cannot be considered as pure Ionians. Herodotus goes on to undermine the Ionian credentials of the cities even further by telling us that two cities explicitly chose not to observe the Apatouria, the ancestral festival celebrated by all Ionians across the Mediterranean. In addition, he specifically states that these new cities were ruled by a mix of immigrants and locals, each city choosing a king to suit itself. While descendants of Codrus were chosen to be kings in some places, these are said to have been Kaukones, a non-Greek ethnic group who occupied the Peloponnese before the arrival of the Greeks (Strabo 7.7.1 calls them 'barbarians'). At the same time, Herodotus tells us that Lycians, indigenous Anatolians from the south, were also selected as Ionian kings. The idea of Greek colonists choosing native Anatolians to be their kings completely reverses the standard pattern of Greek–Barbarian relationships. Power and authority in the Herodotean story, therefore, was explicitly not distributed on ethnic or racial lines. Overall, the image is one of a lack of ethnic distinction. The migrants do not appear as a cohesive group amongst themselves, and furthermore there is no clear line to be drawn between migrants and locals. Indeed, it has been pointed out that 'Herodotus' definitions of what it means to be ethnically Ionian are a string of inherent contradictions . . . his account of Ionian communality constantly undermines itself'.⁷⁹ This can be no accident on Herodotus' part – if he had wished to present either the Ionians or the Milesians as ethnically pure, he

⁷⁹ Kowalzig 2005: 49. Indeed, throughout the *Histories* as a whole, Herodotus generally contests the principle of clear ethnic boundaries (McInerney 2001, 57–9; Thomas 2001, 225; Skinner 2012; Thomas 2002, 124–34; Rood 2007, 303–4).

could have edited out some of his more pointed comments on the subject. Instead, he makes a deliberate point of highlighting hybridity.

It is of course true that Herodotus did tell a story of colonial and sexual violence at Miletus, with Greek violence enacted on Carians. However, it should also be recognised that this story is embedded in a much more complex description of Ionian society, and can only be properly understood in its context. In Herodotus' account, the mass murder of the Carian men and the rape of the Carian women did not result in a wholesale subjection of the Carians to Ionian colonial overlords. Instead, it was a crucial factor that led to a mixed population at Miletus itself, creating a society where distinctions between Ionians and Carians could not reliably be drawn. By telling this story, Herodotus did not posit an opposition between Greeks and 'Barbarians', or between Ionians and Carians. Instead, he was doing precisely the opposite. He was in fact stressing the diversity of the Ionians, their lack of racial purity, and the fundamental hybridity of Milesian society. In this story there is no sense of the oppositional model of cultural difference. The violence in Herodotus' story did not happen instead of mixing and integration, nor did it prevent Ionians and Carians coming together to form a hybrid society. Indeed, violence and conflict was one of the key ways in which this hybrid society was brought about. The Milesians who are so sensitive about the 'Ionian' credentials are, Herodotus tells us, just as much Carian as they ever were Ionian.

It is significant that violence is characteristic, not just of stories that pit Ionian migrants against Anatolian natives, but also of the interactions between Ionians and Aeolians, and even among the Ionian cities themselves. At Smyrna, the Ionians were said to have violently conquered the city, defeating and displacing the Aeolian inhabitants (see [Chapter 7](#)). This, however, did not put an end to interaction with the displaced Aeolians, who were said variously either to have settled in the other Ionian cities or to have continued living at Smyrna itself. Violence, then, was not just a feature of Greek–Anatolian relations, but also characterised relationships between different Greek *ethnē* too. Violence also seems to have been an important way in which the different Ionian groups interacted with each other. Throughout their early history, the Ionian cities engaged in bloody internecine warfare with each other, mostly fighting over territory. This does not seem to have stopped them from forming the Ionian League, from claiming kinship with one other, or from also engaging on friendly terms when it suited them. This inter-Ionian warfare will be discussed in more detail in [Chapter 7](#). For now, however, it is enough to note that violence between the Ionians themselves was common in the archaic and classical

periods, and that this violence was not seen as a bar to interaction. Instead, it was part and parcel of the regular interaction between the cities – merely one mode of interaction alongside trade, exchange diplomacy and kinship. This is not to argue that conflict was a positive force – indeed, the violence in Herodotus’ story is horrific, and has been described as such. However, conflict is still a form of cultural interaction. Fighting and conquest between the Ionian cities was not only normal, but, as will be argued in [Chapter 7](#), it was also fundamental to holding together the Ionian collective. The Ionians would not have been all Ionians together if they had not shared a history of violent interaction. Conflict between Ionians and Carians, therefore, does not necessarily imply cultural opposition and rupture, any more than conflict between Ionians and Aeolians, or Ionians and other Ionians did.

The portrayal of violence in Miletus’ foundation myths, then, does not necessarily mean that cultural difference was perceived in oppositional terms. Instead of being the opposite of interaction, violence may also have functioned as a mode of interaction between ethnic groups. Far from preventing cultural encounter, it could be the cause of heightened interaction. The violence in Herodotus’ story is a crucial factor leading to the creation of the mixed and hybrid Milesian society of Herodotus’ own day. This seems not to have been the case for Pherecydes – mixing is precluded by the expulsion of the Carians from the land. While Herodotus’ account works to deny the distinction between Ionians and Carians, Pherecydes’ story instead reaffirms and emphasises it. But Pherecydes’ was only one story amongst many, one tradition in a wider discourse which was much more diverse than it might initially seem. Within this discourse, Miletus had not only an Ionian past and a Carian past, but also a Cretan past and an autochthonous past. Miletus was a cosmopolitan city with plural origins, and just as there was no one correct way to explain the civic past, there was also no one correct way to depict mythic violence. Violence could mean cultural segregation and ethnic cleansing, as it does in Pherecydes, or it could mean integration and the dissolution of cultural boundaries, as it does in Herodotus. The parallel traditions offer alternative representations of intercommunal conflict. This plurality was at the heart of Miletus.

Putting down roots on Chios

Ἴωνι δὲ τῷ ποιήσαντι τραγωδίαν ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ συγγραφῇ τοιάδε εἰρημένα, Ποσειδῶνα ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἔρημον οὔσαν ἀφικέσθαι καὶ νύμφη τε ἐνταῦθα συγγενέσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ τὰς ὠδῖνας τῆς νύμφης χιόνα ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πεσεῖν ἐς τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου Ποσειδῶνα τῷ παιδί ὄνομα θέσθαι Χίον· συγγενέσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἑτέρᾳ νύμφῃ, καὶ γενέσθαι οἱ παῖδας Ἄγελόν τε καὶ Μέλανα· ἀνὰ χρόνον δὲ καὶ Οἰνοπίωνα ἐς τὴν Χίον κατάραι ναυσὶν ἐκ Κρήτης, ἔπεσθαι δὲ οἱ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας Τάλον καὶ Εὐάνθην καὶ Μέλανα καὶ Σάλαγόν τε καὶ Ἀθάμαντα. ἀφίκοντο δὲ καὶ Κάρεις ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἐπὶ τῆς Οἰνοπίωνος βασιλείας καὶ Ἀβαντες ἐξ Εὐβοίας. Οἰνοπίωνος δὲ καὶ τῶν παίδων ἔλαβεν ὕστερον Ἀμφικλος τὴν ἀρχήν· ἀφίκετο δὲ ἐξ Ἰστιαίας ὁ Ἀμφικλος τῆς ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ κατὰ μάντευμα ἐκ Δελφῶν. Ἐκτωρ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἀμφίκλου τετάρτῃ γενεᾷ – βασιλείαν γὰρ ἔσχε καὶ οὗτος – ἐπολέμησεν Ἀβάντων καὶ Καρῶν τοῖς οἰκοῦσιν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, τοὺς δὲ ἀπελθεῖν ἠνάγκασεν ὑποσπόνδους. γενομένης δὲ ἀπαλλαγῆς πολέμου Χίοις, ἀφικέσθαι τῆνικαῦτα ἐς μῆμην Ἐκτορι ὡς σφᾶς καὶ Ἴωσι δέοι συνθύειν ἐς Πανιώνιον· τρίποδα δὲ ἄθλον λαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ἀνδραγαθίᾳ παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ φησι τοῦ Ἰώνων. τοσαῦτα εἰρηκότα ἐς Χίους Ἴωνα εὗρισκον· οὐ μέντοι ἐκεῖνό γε εἴρηκε, καθ' ἣντινα αἰτίαν Χίοι τελοῦσιν ἐς Ἴωνας.

Ion the tragic poet says these things in his writing: Poseidon came to the island when it was uninhabited; that there he had intercourse with a nymph, and that when the nymph was giving birth, snow [χιόνα] fell from the heavens onto the land, and that because of this Poseidon gave the child the name Chios. Poseidon also had intercourse with another nymph, and engendered the children Agelos and Melas. In time Oinopion came down to Chios with his ships from Crete, accompanied by his sons Talos, Euanthes, Melas, Salagos and Athamas. Carians also arrived on the island during the reign of Oinopion, and Abantes from Euboea. After Oinopion and his sons, Amphiklos took over the rule – Amphiklos had come from Histiaia in Euboea following an oracle from Delphi. In the fourth generation from Amphiklos, Hector took the kingship for himself, and made war on the Abantes and Carians who lived in the island. He killed some in battle, and others he forced to go away under a truce. When the Chians were free from war, at that point it came into Hector's mind to join in sacrificing to the god with the Ionians at the Panionion. They say that Hector was given a tripod as a prize for bravery by the league [τοῦ κοινοῦ] of the Ionians. These are the tales I have found in Ion of Chios. However, he did not say for what reason the Chians ended up amongst the Ionians. (Ion of Chios *FGrHist* 392 F1)

Ion of Chios was a mover and a shaker.¹ He was a leading poet and tragedian of his day, a close personal friend of the Athenian politician Cimon, a rival of Pericles in love, and an acquaintance of both Aeschylus and Sophocles. But as well as these exploits in Athens he also was a prominent citizen in his home polis of Chios. He wrote a poem celebrating the Chian past: the *Chiou Ktisis*. The passage above summarises Ion's poem. It seems that Ion sketched out a complex early history for the island, starting with the arrival of Poseidon and concluding with the decision of the Chian king Hector to join the Ionians. Along the way, numerous groups of people are said to have occupied Chios: the autochthonous children of Poseidon and the nymphs; Oinopion and his sons from Crete; Carians and Abantes from Euboea; and finally the Histiaeans. The last of these groups proved to be the most bellicose, eventually driving the Abantes and Carians from the island.

Ion's was not the only foundation myth available for Chios, and it seems markedly different from the others we know of. The myth of the Ionian Migration has been mentioned briefly in the last chapter and will be discussed more fully in [Chapter 7](#). This mythic tradition would have claimed that Chios, like the other Ionian cities, was founded by migrants coming from mainland Greece led by the sons of Codrus, the king of Athens. Later texts preserve an alternative tradition which said that Chios was founded instead by an unnamed son of Macareus, the king and founder of Lesbos (Diod. Sic. 5.81.7). Yet another story attested in Strabo but apparently told by the Chians themselves recounts how Chios was founded by Pelasgians from Thessaly (Strabo 15.3.3). Different options were available, then, for the Chians when it came to articulating their origins. However, Ion's *Chiou Ktisis* is the only foundation story we know of told from a Chian perspective during the archaic and classical periods, and there is evidence to suggest that it spoke to specifically Chian concerns and local ideas about identity (see below).²

We are dependent on Pausanias for his summary of the story (Paus 7.4.8–10), and so we cannot be sure of the exact contents of Ion's original text. Nonetheless, it appears that Ion's story may have been structured around the transmission of political power. At the very least, the transfer

¹ See papers in Jennings and Katsaros 2007 for Ion's life and works.

² Both John Tzetses and an anonymous Homeric scholiast mention that Hellanicus wrote a *Chiou Ktisis* as well, although we have no earlier references to this work (Pearson 1939: 197). We cannot be sure what might have been contained in such a work if it did exist, and whether Hellanicus' story would have borne any resemblance to that of Ion. We might speculate, given Hellanicus' Lesbian origins, that he might have been Diodorus' source for the Macareus story. Hellanicus would not, of course, have offered us a Chian perspective on Chian origins as Ion does.

of power from one group/individual to another must have featured in the text, although the decision to use this as the main framework of the story may owe more to Pausanias than to Ion. The story describes successive waves of new arrivals, with the kingship of the island passing from group to group. Chios is first established as an entity when the island is named after Poseidon's son, himself named after the snowfall that accompanied his birth. Authority is then ceded when Oinopion and his Cretans arrive on the island, sweeping down violently on the island with their ships (κατᾶραι ναυσὶν). The throne is later snatched from them by the Histiaeian Amphiclus (ἔλαβεν ὕστερον Ἄμφικλος τὴν ἀρχήν), and three generations later, the rule is grabbed by Hector (βασιλείαν γὰρ ἔσχε). In Ion's account, the rule of Chios is given and taken, moved back and forth. The kingship of the island is represented in similar terms to the tripod awarded as a prize to Hector (τρίποδα δὲ ἄθλον λαβεῖν) – as a transferable thing that frequently changes hands. In Ion's story, it seems that power in Chios (and indeed the occupation of the land itself) is represented as something flexible and shifting, moving between different ethnic groups and individuals when the time is right (ἀνὰ χρόνον). In Ion's story, time passes, groups come and go, and the kingship of the island passes from hand to hand.

The representation of political power on Chios as fluid and changing goes against what we might expect from Ion. He told a history of Chios that characterised the island by change rather than constancy, fluidity rather than fixity, movement rather than stability.³ At the time that Ion was writing, this would have had certain political implications. There is a strong archaic tradition of genealogical writing, establishing nobility, elevated bloodlines and the inborn virtues of the elite classes.⁴ This interest in genealogy and aristocratic continuity is especially evident from Chios itself, where a particularly good example of genealogical writing has been preserved. A gravestone was set up for man named Heropythos in the early classical period which listed his

³ It is perhaps significant that this sense of transition and flow is also hinted at in the one other foundation story that is said to have been told by Chians themselves: Strabo's story about Chios as founded by Pelasgians. At this point, Strabo digresses to discuss the nature of the Pelasgians, describing them as 'much-wandering' (πολύπλανον) and quick to migrate. Fluidity and change is once more characteristic of early Chian history.

⁴ Genealogical writing is related to the writing of local histories and foundation myths, but emerges somewhat earlier and necessarily focuses on aristocratic individuals or families rather than *poleis*. This genealogical interest is found in sympotic poetry, praise poetry and epic as well as straightforward genealogical literature such as the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*. Inscriptions, especially dedications at sanctuaries, also bear witness to this phenomenon. As mentioned in [Chapter 4](#), an example is Pherecydes who wrote a genealogy for Cimon's family, the Philaidae, in Athens.

ancestral line for fourteen generations.⁵ Chians were, it seems, interested in establishing their own aristocratic credentials and delineating their own elevated ancestry, highlighting aristocratic continuity and an unbroken thread between past and present. Ion himself is likely to have held similar views, given that the surviving fragments of his poetry seem to suggest a pro-aristocratic outlook, with snide comments made about Pericles' arrogance and, in contrast, positive comments made about Cimon and his family.⁶ Ion's account of the origins of Chios does not, as we might expect, present us with an aristocratic genealogy of the Chians, tracing an unbroken line between the foundation of the polis and its present-day inhabitants. Instead, Ion tells a story of rupture, population change and the transfer of political power. The central characteristics of his story are at odds with the aristocratic interest in genealogy and continuity that we might expect.

By describing the human population and political structures of the island as constantly shifting, Ion's story lacks the power of a single moment of foundation. There is no one point at which Chios was founded – there was no absolute cut-off point for the start of Chian history and the Chian polis. An inevitable result of this is that none of the many Chian founding heroes can be said to assume the role of the civic *oikist*. The eponymous Chios, the son of Poseidon and a local nymph, is the first autochthonous inhabitant, and founds Chios by giving it its name. Oinopion arrives from Crete with his sons, bringing knowledge of viticulture and establishing Chios' famous wine trade. Carians, Abantes and Histiaeans all come to the island later, some with the Delphic instructions commonly associated with new foundations.⁷ Finally, another potential moment of foundation occurs when the king, Hector, decides to indulge in some ethnic cleansing and to join in an

⁵ The gravestone of Heropythos is now in the Samos Museum (Cat. No. 1328). For the inscription, see *SGDI* 5656, or Wade-Gery 1952: 8–9. The exact date of the inscription remains uncertain. It has been suggested that Heropythos himself may have died around 450 BC as the lettering of the inscription seems to belong to the mid-fifth century (Wade-Gery 1952: 8–9). However, it has also been suggested that the inscription may be slightly earlier than this (Forrest 1963: 56). The names listed in the genealogy are perhaps of passing interest. Heropythos, unlike Hecataeus, who apparently traced his line back to a god (Hdt 2.143), does not claim any divine or heroic ancestors, and notably does not connect himself with any heroes from the Ionian Migration. Instead, the earliest ancestor he gives is Kyprios (fourteen generations before), closely followed by Eldis. Both of these are unusual amongst Greek personal names. Kyprios obviously refers to the island of Cyprus, and is only known from this and two much later inscriptions, one from Cyprus from the second century BC of a slave (*LGP* 1, p. 279), one from Athens in the fourth century BC (*LGP* 2, p. 272). Eldis is a common beginning for a Hebrew name, and is not much known from the Greek world.

⁶ See Geddes 2007 for a discussion of traces of anti-democratic, anti-Periclean views in Ion's fragments.

⁷ For the role played by Delphic oracles in new foundations, see Graham 1982: 143–52; Malkin 1987; Morgan 1990; Dougherty 1993.

alliance with the Ionians, thereby assuming a new Ionian identity. In Ion's story, we are presented not with one *oikist*, but with many.⁸

It is significant that there is no trace in this story whatsoever of an oppositional model of cultural difference. Indeed, the distinctions between the different groups of migrants do not appear to have been an important part of the story. The Carians and Abantes expelled by Hector are not ejected because of underlying ethnic tension or insurmountable cultural differences. Indeed, they are said to have lived on Chios for longer than the Histiaeans themselves. The Histiaeans do not expel them immediately, but rather in the third generation after their arrival, when Hector takes the throne. It is the ascension of Hector that marks the change in inter-group relations. Hector is characterised as an especially bellicose character himself – he is said to have taken the throne for himself in a way that might hint at internal violence and usurpation. Similarly, the decision to unite with the Ionians does not seem to have been made on the basis of cultural or ethnic affinity. Instead, it appears to have been an arbitrary decision, motivated by little more than Hector's personal whim, or perhaps shrewd political calculation (see [Chapter 7](#) for a further discussion of Chios joining the Ionian collective). Indeed, Pausanias explicitly tells us that Ion gave no explanation in the *Chiou Ktisis* for why the Chians were considered Ionians at all. It is evident from this that Ion did not represent the Chians as belonging naturally or genealogically to the Ionian *ethnos*. The similarities and distinctions between different population groups, and the particular identities of these groups, are simply not important for the shape of the story. In Ion, then, the many peoples who occupied and ruled Chios seem to have blurred into an indistinct succession, with political power passing from one group to the next. The effect of this lack of distinction between the peoples of Chios is that attention is, once again, diverted elsewhere. Whilst political power and populations are constantly changing, the island of Chios itself emerges as an unchanging constant. Despite initial impressions, the core of Ion's story is not about the transfer of political power and who is in control of the island. It is precisely *because* the rule is continually changing hands that it becomes no longer important. The fundamental identity of the island is not dependent on its human inhabitants, but rather on the elemental and natural aspects of its physical geography.

Ion tells us that the first inhabitants of the island – Chios, Agelos and Melas – are all autochthons, born from the union of Poseidon and local nymphs. The choice of Poseidon as the divine father of these first Chians is significant, given the fact that Chios was an island and to a large extent

⁸ See [Chapter 4](#) for a discussion of the role of the *oikist*.

dependent on the sea. It is also important that the name of the island and its Ionian polis derives, not from any later migrants or civic founders, but rather from the first of these autochthons. The naming of a city is a significant act, and one often associated with the city's *oikist* or founder.⁹ By tracing Chios' name back to its first autochthonous inhabitant, then, Ion was making a clear statement about his island's identity. This first eponymous inhabitant stands for and represents the island and the polis – after all, he *is* Chios. The derivation of the name from snow falling from the heavens is also important. The heavens (the snow), the earth (the anonymous nymph, perhaps named Chione – see below) and the sea (Poseidon) all have a hand in the making of this first islander – he is created out of the forces of nature themselves. Chios may have officially been an Ionian city, but its underlying identity was purely, naturally, elementally Chian. But Ion is not the only author to consider that the name Chios was derived from natural or elemental phenomena. A century or so before Ion wrote, Hecataeus is also reported to have said that the name could be traced back from one of three options:

ἀπὸ Χίου τῆς Ὠκεανοῦ ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς χιόνος τῆς ἐκεῖ γινομένης πολλῆς ἢ ἀπὸ νύμφης τῆς Χιόνης

From Chios of the Ocean, or from the snow that often falls there, or from the nymph Chione. (Hecataeus *FGrHist* 1 F141)

Hecataeus' three derivations for the name relate back, like those of Ion's eponymous Chios, to the sea, the heavens and the land respectively. Taking the accounts of Ion and Hecataeus together, it seems that in the archaic and early classical periods there was a local Ionian tradition that saw the origins of Chios as a place closely connected with nature, the elements and the land of the island itself.

A second figure that connects the Chians to the land was that of Oinopion – literally, 'he who drinks wine'. In general Oinopion was thought of as an early king of Chios and celebrated as the person who introduced the vine and the art of wine-making to the island. This places him in a particularly close relationship with the land itself – he is an agricultural hero, responsible for the creation of a particular way of interacting with the territory and the landscape. Oinopion is therefore not a true *oikist* in the sense of founding a polis with its civic institutions and cult. Instead, he represents the foundation of an important agricultural practice, standing for rootedness in the landscape and connections with the territory. In this, he

⁹ Malkin 1994: 133ff. Malkin here discusses the choice of a city celebrating an eponymous founder versus a historical founder. The implications of choosing one over the other are significant.

appears to be similar to the eponymous Chios, embodying a sense of connection between the Chians and the land they inhabited. Oinopion's role as the initiator of wine-making was particularly important for Chios. Chian wine had a high reputation in antiquity and was a vital part of the island's economy.¹⁰ From the end of the sixth century until Roman times, a common design for Chian coins was the motif of a sphinx facing an amphora, sometimes together with a bunch of grapes (Figure 4).¹¹ In addition to this, the island seems also to have been associated, not just with the production of wine, but also with its consumption. During the archaic period, characteristically Chian drinking vessels were exported widely throughout Ionia and were used in ritual feasting and dedicated as votive offerings.¹² The identity of Chios was deeply and fundamentally connected with wine, from grape to glass. As a result, Chian authors often celebrated their polis' finest product. Writing a century or so after Ion, the Chian historian Theopompus highlighted the connection between Chios and wine, explicitly claiming that Oinopion colonised the island with the first Chians:¹³

Θεόπομπος δέ φησι παρὰ Χίοις πρώτοις γενέσθαι τὸν μέλανα οἶνον, καὶ τὸ φυτεύειν δὲ καὶ θεραπεύειν ἀμπέλους Χίους πρώτους μαθόντας παρ' Οἰνοπίωνος τοῦ Διονύσου, ὃς καὶ συνώκισε τὴν νῆσον, τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις μεταδοῦναι.

Theopompus says that dark wine was first created by the Chians; and the Chians were the first to learn about the propagation and nurture of the vine from Oinopion, the son of Dionysius, who occupied the island with them. They then shared their knowledge with other people. (Theopompus of Chios *FGrHist* 115 F276)

The figure of Oinopion was closely associated with Chios by external authors and commentators,¹⁴ as well as being particularly popular on the island itself. A fragment of a chronicle inscription has been found on Chios, dating from the first or second century. The inscription refers to Oinopion's

¹⁰ Sarikakis 1986. See also Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazusae* 1139; Plutarch, *Demetrius* 19.4; Pliny, *Natural History* 14.73; Ath. *Deip.* 167e.

¹¹ Hardwick 1991: 10–11, 17 and 24. Hardwick argues that the motif of a sphinx and amphora may have been connected with a major civic cult, suggesting that Oinopion may have been the focus for this cult. However, he admits that the evidence for this is extremely limited.

¹² Burgemeister 2012.

¹³ Indeed, Theopompus was not averse to indulging in Chian wine himself. According to Aelian: 'Theopompus says that he damaged his eyesight from his excessive uncontrolled drinking so as to see very dimly and that he used to sit daily in the barber shops and make funny remarks' (λέγει δὲ Θεόπομπος ὑπὸ τῆς ἀκρατοποσίας τῆς ἄγαν αὐτὸν διαφθαρῆναι τὰς ὄψεις, ὥς ἀμυδρὸν βλέπειν· ἀποκαθῆσθαι δὲ ἐν τοῖς κουρείοις καὶ γελωτο-ποιεῖν: *FGrHist* 115 F283b). See Flower 1994 for Theopompus.

¹⁴ Apollodorus, for example, tells the story of Orion landing on Chios and having a run-in with Oinopion after wooing his daughter (*Bibliotheca* 1.4.9).



4. Chian coin from the fifth century BC.

arrival on Chios from Crete, and lists his family and followers who came to the island with him.¹⁵ Oinopion is said to have been accompanied by his sons Athamas and Kretheus, both of whom appear in Ion's *Chiou Ktisis*, as well as Arselos, who does not appear in Ion. Ion's other companions are said to have included Babras, Kaukasos, Hegeus and Salagos, who is listed by Ion as one of Oinopion's sons (lines 1–8). Unusually with foundation stories, we are also told that Oinopion brought his wife with him to Chios: Nike, the sister of Babras and the mother of Kretheus and Arselos. We are also explicitly told that Oinopion's other wife, Kritopheme, the daughter of Deucalion and the mother of Athamantos (Athamas), did not come to Chios with him (lines 9–16). Oinopion, it appears, was not only important to Chians himself – his entire family was of interest. There was also a cult of Oinopion on the island. In Pausanias' time, the tomb of the hero was considered to be one of the island's must-see tourist destinations and stories were supposedly told about it (Paus 7.5.13). In addition, a fragmentary inscription from Pyrgi, most likely dating from the fifth century, also seems to mention a shrine of Oinopion:

Ἡρακλῆς Ο[.] ΜΕΤΟΙΦΡΤΟ [- - - - -]
 ΑΜΝΟΣ[. . . .]ΟΤΩΝΙΤ [- - - - -]
 ΣΩ[.]ΩΜΕΝ[. .]ΤΟΝΤΟΥΔΕΟΣ[. . . .]ΩΡΟΝΕΚ [- - -]
 σωτηρίην αἰώνιην Ο(ι)νοπίων[.]γενεῇν[- - -]
 Ἐχ[ε]λέων Δημητρίου Ἡρακλεῖ
 Σωτήρι καθ' ὄραμα.

Forrest 1963, no. 8

¹⁵ Contoléon 1949, no. 5.

The reconstruction of the inscription is uncertain.¹⁶ The first part clearly refers to Heracles (line 1), and perhaps some sort of offering (ἄμνος, line 2). After this, in line 4 the inscription seems to include a prayer for the eternal safety of either a shrine of Oinopion (if the text is restored as referring to the Οἰνοπίων[εἶον]), or for the people descended from Oinopion, presumably the Chians (if the text is restored as the Οἰνοπίων[ος κατὰ?] γενεήν). Finally, there is a reference to Echeleos, the son of Demetrios, and the god Heracles Soter. Overall, given that Heracles is mentioned twice, the inscription is likely to relate primarily to a cult of Heracles. However, the reference to Oinopion is also significant. Whether there might also have been an Oinopioneion somewhere in the area of Pyrgi, or whether the Chians referred to themselves as the people descended from Oinopion, it is clear that the figure of Oinopion was an important one. This may have gone beyond simply representing viticulture and the island's most famous product. Against the background of Ion's story of population transfer, fluidity and changeability contrasted with territorial stability and continuity, Oinopion was a potentially crucial figure. He offered a means of rooting the people into the place – physically putting down roots with the vines as well as metaphorically putting down roots in the making of a new home. Oinopion, and the agricultural practices he represents, was a symbolic link between the durability of the land and its transitory inhabitants.

Returning once more to the work of Ion, it is perhaps unsurprising to find that he featured Oinopion at several points in his writings. From the surviving fragments and testimonia, he seems to have discussed sympotic practices and the rituals of wine-drinking fairly extensively.¹⁷ As for Oinopion himself, Ion accords him an especially high status. In the passage quoted at the start of this chapter, Oinopion appears as an early king of the island, and the first non-autochthonous inhabitant to join the offspring of Poseidon and the nymphs. Ion also mentions Oinopion in one of his elegiac poems, a fragment of which was quoted by Plutarch. In this poem, Ion explicitly stated that Oinopion was Chios' civic founder (τὴν ποτε Θεσείδης ἔκτισεν Οἰνοπίων: F29 *IEG*, preserved in Plutarch, *Theseus* 20.2). This quotation highlights the importance of Oinopion for the Chians: he is not only

¹⁶ The fragmentary nature of the inscription is problematic, and the fact that it has since been lost does not help the matter. The stele was described as being made from dark marble, and the letters as being 'very small, badly damaged, often overlapping, sometimes written sideways' (Forrest 1963: 57). The inscription has also been published in Contoléon 1949, no. 9.

¹⁷ For example, F26 *IEG* celebrates the joy wine brings to humanity; F27 *IEG* discusses the opening of an evening of drinking. In addition, Ion was also said to have given a jar of Chian wine to every Athenian as a celebration when he won the prize for tragedy in the Dionysia (*FGrHist* 392 T1 and T2).



5. Dionysius and Oinopion. Attic black-figure amphora, signed by Exekias.

an early king and an agricultural hero, but in some contexts he appears in the position of a civic founder as well. However, this fragment also raises some questions about his own origins and paternity.

Oinopion is usually described as a son of Dionysius and Ariadne. This much is evident from the work of Theopompus (see above) and is perhaps suggested in vase painting (Figure 5). In addition, Diodorus Siculus (5.79.1) says that the Cretan Rhadamanthus gave the kingship of Chios to Oinopion, the son of Ariadne. He also records that ‘some writers’ say that Oinopion was the son of Dionysius and learned from him the art of wine-making. Given the tradition of Dionysius as Oinopion’s father (and this clearly makes sense given his role of bringing wine to Chios), it seems strange, therefore, that Ion should have said that Oinopion’s father was Theseus.¹⁸ Theseus was a conspicuously Athenian hero, and at the time Ion was writing, his popularity at Athens was growing under the sponsorship of Cimon and his family, as discussed in Chapter 2. It has been pointed out

¹⁸ This attribution of Theseus as Oinopion’s father also sits strangely with Ion’s account of the hero sailing to Chios from Crete. His mother, Ariadne, was Cretan and Theseus was of course linked to Crete. However, Ariadne and Theseus were generally said to have left Crete together, and if Oinopion was the offspring of their union we might expect to hear of him sailing to Chios from Naxos, where Theseus abandoned Ariadne. Perhaps, though, such apparent inconsistencies are not important. We do not know what alternative versions of the Ariadne–Theseus story might have been circulating on Chios at the time, and in any case we should allow Ion the poetic flexibility to spin his foundation story as he wishes. We are more concerned here with the ways in which he chose to spin.

that Ion seems to have been of a pro-Athenian political bent. Not only did he spend time in Athens himself, but he entertained official Athenian envoys when they visited Chios, and his family also maintained an ongoing relationship of *xenia* with that of Cimon. In addition, it seems that Ion's son, Tydeus, was executed by the Spartan garrison commander on Chios in 413/12 BC for pro-Athenian agitation.¹⁹ We should read Ion's statement about Theseus being Oinopion's father against this background. The claim places Athens and Chios in a close relationship of *metropolis* (mother-city) and colony, bringing the two cities together through the medium of myth. Through his writing, therefore, Ion seems to have been promoting an agenda of greater integration and closer links with Athens; the same agenda that he, his father and his son all promoted through their personal contacts and political activities. It is significant, though, that Ion chose the figure of Oinopion as a means by which to do this. If he had wanted to forge close mythical ties with Athens, the story of the Ionian Migration from Athens to Ionia under the leadership of the sons of the Athenian king Codrus would have been a much more obvious choice. This story was widely known and particularly popular in Athens itself (see [Chapter 7](#)). Ion did not choose the preferred Athenian option, but opted instead to present Chian–Athenian connections through a peculiarly Chian figure instead – that of Oinopion. Ion may have been rhetorically constructing links with Athens, but he was doing it on Chian terms and in a Chian fashion. For Ion, it was preferable to negotiate mythical relationships using Oinopion, with his rootedness in the Chian landscape and in agricultural production, rather than the wandering Codrids.

Rootedness in the landscape may have been more of an issue for the Chian population than for some other *poleis*. Archaeological surveys suggest that in the archaic and classical periods, occupation in Chios was relatively dispersed. Many people lived outside the main urban centre of Chios town, and they were spread throughout the island. At least eight second-order sites have been identified in the classical period, indicating that the people of the island were indeed a dispersed population.²⁰ That the Chians were predominantly country-dwellers is also suggested from what we know of their judicial system. An inscription from the early fifth century makes reference to travelling courts that moved around the countryside as well as sitting in the main city.²¹ Chians, it seems, could remain close to the

¹⁹ For Ion's connections with Athens and pro-Athenian outlook, see Haviaras 2007. This does not necessarily imply that Ion was a democrat, as pointed out in Geddes 2007. Indeed, as already mentioned, he seems to have favoured the Cimonian vision of an aristocratic Athens over Periclean democracy. For relations between Chios and Athens in general, see Barron 1986.

²⁰ See Yalouris 1986 for a gazetteer of sites. See also *IACP* 840. ²¹ *I.Chios* 76: B, lines 5–20.

land even in the pursuit of legal claims. This same inscription suggests that territory and rootedness in the landscape was important to the Chians, as a reference appears to eviction from property as a major concern (D, lines 1–5). Occupation of the land, it seems, was a continuing concern for the Chians, expressed both in their foundation myths and in their demographic and legal structures.

Overall, it seems that the foundation story presented by Ion in his *Chiou Ktisis* was one that spoke directly to Chian concerns and interests. It picked up on mythical elements and contemporary issues that were particularly Chian, and used them to create a powerful narrative of Chian origins. The identity of Chios, it seemed, was not so much about specific ethnic groups or types of people. Instead, the underlying continuities of land and landscape come through both in Ion's story and in the wider evidence for Chian ritual and cultural perspectives. The changeability of population and political structures are contrasted with the stability of the land itself, as represented by the eponymous Chios. The link between the two was the hero Oinopion, who literally showed the Chians how to put down roots in their new land, negotiating the relationship between land and people, the enduring and the transitory, the natural and the human.

River-born Samos

The foundation myths from neighbouring Samos are similar to those of Chios in that they betray a similar interest in rootedness and connections with the landscape. However, they do so in their own particular way. Our best contemporary source for the Samians' own accounts of their polis' foundation is found in an epic poem by Asius of Samos, written in the sixth century BC and including a story about the first inhabitants of the island:

Ἄσιος δὲ ὁ Ἀμφιπτολέμου Σάμιος ἐποίησεν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ὡς Φοῖνικι ἐκ Περιμήδης τῆς Οἰνέως γένοιτο Ἀστυπάλαια καὶ Εὐρώπη, Ποσειδῶνος δὲ καὶ Ἀστυπαλαίας εἶναι παῖδα Ἀγκαῖον, βασιλεύειν δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν καλουμένων Λελέγων· Ἀγκαίῳ δὲ τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ ποταμοῦ λαβόντι τοῦ Μαϊάνδρου Σαμίαν γενέσθαι Περίλαον καὶ Ἐνούδον καὶ Σάμον καὶ Ἀλιθέρσην καὶ θυγατέρα ἐπ' αὐτῷ Παρθενόπην, Παρθενόπης δὲ τῆς Ἀγκαίου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Λυκομήδην γενέσθαι. Ἄσιος μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἐδήλωσε:

Asius the son of Amphiptolemos, a Samian, said in his poem that Phoinix had the children Astypalaia and Europa with Perimede, the daughter of Oineus; and that Astypalaia and Poseidon had a child Ankaios, and that he ruled over those called Leleges; that Ankaios took up Samia, the daughter of the River Maeander, and had with her the children Perilaos and Enoudos and Samos and Alitherses and a daughter

Parthenope; and that Parthenope the daughter of Ankaïos had Lycomedes with Apollo. Asius revealed these things in his poem. (Asius of Samos F7 *GEF*)

Although the original text of Asius has not been preserved and we are dependent on Pausanias' summary of it for our information (Paus 7.4.1), there are nonetheless some conclusions that we can draw. Asius' story casts the origins of Samos in a particularly complex way, alluding to an intricate network of mythical relationships. The eponymous Samos is given an illustrious family heritage. On his father's side, he is descended from Poseidon and a woman whose name means the 'ancient city' (Astypalaia). Like Chios' parents, Samos' paternal grandparents were, very literally, a union between the land and the sea – an ancient acropolis settlement and the briny deep. The mythical hero Samos was himself made out of this combination. This idea may have been more than simply a pleasant conceit – it may have spoken very directly to Samian experiences of their own polis and its territories. Throughout the archaic and classical periods, the territory of Samos consisted of not only the land of the island itself, but also a substantial *peraia* on the Anatolian mainland, as well as the sea connecting the two.²² The political realities of the Samian state therefore encompassed both land and sea, just like the mythical genealogy of its eponymous hero.

Also on his father's side, Samos is described as the grand-nephew of none other than the famed Europa herself. Europa, as the story goes, was the daughter of the Phoenician king Phoinix; she was abducted by Zeus in the form of a bull, deposited on the island of Crete, and eventually gave birth to Minos, Rhadamanthus and Sarpedon as the results of her rape (*Iliad* 14.321; *Catalogue of Women* F19a, Oxyrhynchus Papyri 1358 F1). However, by the time Asius composed his epic in the sixth century, a reference to Europa would have conjured up more than simply an erotic tale about a taurophilic teen – she had come to be associated with a whole continent. The idea of 'Europe' as a geographical region seems to have emerged gradually over the course of the seventh century, initially referring only to a restricted area of central mainland Greece around Boeotia and Attica.²³ However, around the time that Asius would have been composing his epic at the start of the fifth century,²⁴ Europe

²² For a discussion of Samos' relationship with its *peraia*, see Shipley 1987: 31–7. *Horos* boundary markers are still visible on the hillsides of Mount Mykale, marking the border between the territories of Samos and Priene on the mountain. The division of land in and around the Mykale peninsula seems to have been an ongoing bone of contention between the two cities from the time of the Melian War onwards. For a detailed discussion of this, see Chapter 7 on the Panionion.

²³ In the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 3.250–1, the region of 'Europe' is explicitly contrasted with the Peloponnese. See Hall 1997 for a discussion of this.

²⁴ See Bowra 1957 for an argument on the early fifth-century date of Asius.

had expanded in meaning. It seems likely that when Anaximander drew his map in 550 BC, he divided the world into the continents of Europe and Asia (as is implied in Hdt 4.36).²⁵ A more certain example is the *Periēgēsis* of Hecataeus, which is divided into two books – one for Europe and the other for Asia.²⁶ It seems likely, then, that for many if not all of Asius' audience, the name 'Europa' would have been loaded with geographical meaning. It is significant therefore that in this particular family tree the eponymous Samos is not directly of European stock – he is not descended from Europa herself. Instead, he hails from a closely connected but parallel lineage – that of Europa's sister, Astypalaia. In myth as well as in physical geography, Samos is not quite European. Asius seems to suggest that it is certainly very close to being European, but also that it is proud of being something a little different.

As if Samos' paternal lineage were not illustrious enough, his genealogy is just as impressive along the maternal line. Samos' mother is the equally eponymous Samia, the daughter of the great River Maeander that connected the Aegean coast of Anatolia with the plateau. Pausanias makes a deliberate point of recording that Samia was the daughter of the River Maeander (τοῦ ποταμοῦ . . . τοῦ Μαιάνδρου), stressing the riverine nature of the Maeander. Through both his mother's and father's families, Samos is linked to the elements and to nature – the sea waters of his paternal grandfather matched by the fresh waters of his maternal one. But it was not just any river that engendered Samos. It was not, for example, the River Imbrasos on Samos itself. It was not even the Cayster, which was geographically closer to the island and which flowed alongside the Samian *peraia* (see Figure 1). Rather, it was the mighty Maeander, coursing through Anatolia from the plateau to the Ionian coast, and which acted throughout antiquity as a grand highway – a literal channel of communication.²⁷ The island of Samos was perched close to the mouth of this great route, and the figure of the eponymous Samos was sprung from its waters. But the Maeander was not just one of the great rivers of antiquity, it was also an Anatolian river, flowing from the heart of inland Asia. While Samos may be peri-European on his father's side, on his mother's side he is peri-Anatolian.

The figure of Samos, like that of the eponymous Chios, stands for the island, and very literally embodies its identity. In Asius, as in Ion, we find an

²⁵ See Naddaf 2002 for a discussion of Anaximander's map and accompanying political theory.

According to the third-century AD geographer Agathemerus, Anaximander made the first world map, representing the earth as a perfect disc (see Diels and Kranz 1952: 12A6).

²⁶ Caspari 1910: 243 n25. According to the various testimonia on the subject, Hecataeus followed Anaximander's geographical categories when he structured his work.

²⁷ The River Cayster is considerably smaller and was less important for inter-regional routes. This is evident from its modern name in Turkish – the Küçük Menderes (the little Maeander), in contrast to the Maeander itself, which is known as the Büyük Menderes (the big Maeander).

image of the island polis encapsulated in the person and characteristics of the eponymous hero. Samos' origins stem from the mixing of different elements – he owes his birth to the confluence of seas and rivers, and the coming together of the Anatolian and the European to create something wholly unique. His story is a mirror in which the Samians may well have seen themselves.

There were, of course, other traditions which told different tales about the founding of Samos. In later periods of antiquity, Samos was frequently included in the myths of the Ionian Migration from Athens (for which, see [Chapter 7](#)). Pausanias recounts a story in which Samos was conquered by the Ephesians, led by the Codrid king who led the Ionian Migration, Androclus (Paus 7.2.2–3 and 8). As this story is not attested in any earlier sources, we do not know whether it was current during the archaic and classical periods. We know of several alternatives from these later periods, offering a range of possible foundation myths for Samos. In addition to the story of Androclus, Pausanias offers a different Ionian origin for the population, this time unconnected with the Ionian Migrations from Athens under the Codrids. This was the foundation of Samos by people from Epidauros following an oracle of Apollo (Paus 7.3.2–3). Diodorus Siculus preserves another story, in which Samos was colonised by Kydrolaos, one of the sons of Macareus the *oikist* of Lesbos (and presumably brother to the unnamed son of Macareus who was said to have founded Chios: Diod. Sic. 5.81.8). Yet another myth posits that Samos was founded by Tembrion.²⁸ These stories, however, are much later in date than the period considered in this book. In addition, they are recounted by non-Samians, and so stand in contrast to the local Samian perspective offered by Asius.

Indeed, the story told in Asius seems to have been both widely known beyond Samos, and also particularly favoured by Samians themselves. Most notably, the idea of a genealogical connection with the Maeander endured for several generations. Several leading citizens of Samos are known to have had names that made reference to the Maeander river. Perhaps the best known of these is Maeandrios, the son of Maeandrios, who overthrew the tyrant Polycrates and ruled in his place until the Persian king Darius deposed him in favour of Polycrates' brother (see Hdt 3.123ff.). It is perhaps significant that the name seems to have carried some dynastic connotations, the Maeander heritage being passed down from father to son. Another prominent Maeandrios was the general who led the Samian contingent of the fleet at the Battle of Eurymedon in 469 BC. This Maeandrios died in action, and a monument was raised in his honour back home, which is now

²⁸ See Strabo 14.1.3 and 10.2.17; *Etym. Magn.* s.v. Ἀστυπαλαία.

only known from the inscription on its base.²⁹ Personal names were also made using compound forms of the river name, in much the same way as was done at Miletus (see [Chapter 4](#)). People named Anaximandros, Diomandros, Theomandrides, Mandrokles, Mandron and Sosimandros are all found on Samos, to cite only a few examples. Indeed, after Miletus, Samos appears to be the city where Maeander-related names were the most popular.³⁰ The Samians themselves seem to have set great store by their riverine ancestor.

The riverine ancestry of Samos remained an important aspect of Samian civic identity as well, and featured in the inter-state diplomacy of the Hellenistic period. In the second century BC, the Samians issued two decrees – one claiming kinship with the city of Magnesia on the Maeander and the other with Antiocheia on the Maeander. The basis of both of these kinship claims, it seems, was a common descent from the personified river Maeander.³¹ The first inscription, renewing a pact of isopolity between Samos and Magnesia and extending citizenship rights to a certain Telestratus, explicitly states that the two cities are related in a familial way, using the word οἰκεύς to express kinship.³² The second, a fragmentary text which records the establishment of an alliance with Antiocheia, also expresses the relationship in terms of blood relation and family ties, using the word συγγένεια.³³

In addition to this interest in their Maeanderine ancestry, other elements of Asius' foundation myth also recur throughout Samian history, suggesting that the story was repeated through the centuries. The theme of rivers and natural elements is also evident on Samos' coinage of the Roman period, where a standard motif is the image of a river god resting on a cornucopia and holding a reed.³⁴ Whilst the river god has sometimes been identified as representing the River Imbrasos, this is not always evident from the coins themselves, as only some of them bear a legend identifying Imbrasos. Indeed, such legends only appear from the Roman imperial period onwards, and have also been interpreted as representing the Maeander.³⁵ The ambiguity of the river god on these coins is interesting. The image may have equally represented the Imbrasos, the Maeander, or indeed have recalled

²⁹ For a discussion of this inscription and suggested reconstruction of the text, see Wade-Gery 1933: 97–101. It is suggested that the monument once took the form of a monumental statue, holding an aphlaston to symbolise the naval nature of Maeandrios' exploits.

³⁰ Thonemann 2006: 24. Interestingly, the Samians made use of the writings of another Maeandrios, a historian from Miletus, in their territorial dispute with the Prieneans during the Hellenistic period. See [Chapter 7](#) for details.

³¹ See Patterson 2010: 144–9 for a discussion of these two decrees.

³² *I.Magnesia* no. 103, line 8. ³³ *Curtis* 1995, no. 29, 61–3.

³⁴ For examples, see Head and Poole 1892: 373, 375, 378, 380, 383, 384, 390 and 395.

³⁵ Gardner 1882, 16.

associations of both rivers at once.³⁶ Another recurring element of the story is the figure of king Ankaïos. Ankaïos did feature in several myths that were unrelated to the foundation of Samos – for example, his adventures on the *Argo* and his prophesied demise on the tusks of a wild boar (e.g. Apoll. Rhod. 1.185ff.). However, his role in the early history of Samos was also widely recognised. Simonides of Keos, writing around the same time as Asius, both mentioned Ankaïos' role in the voyage of the *Argo* and repeated the same genealogy as the one given him by Asius (*FGrHist* 8 F2). Writing a century or so after these writers, Pherecydes also mentioned Ankaïos, following Asius in describing him as a king of the Leleges (*FGrHist* 3 F155). Centuries later, in the third century AD, the philosopher Iamblichus seized on the figure of Ankaïos when seeking to establish a suitably elevated ancestry for Pythagoras (*de vita Pythagorae* 2.3–4 and 6). Indeed, Iamblichus went as far as to follow Asius in claiming that Ankaïos had founded Samos. Ankaïos was also incorporated into the civic iconography appearing on Roman imperial coins from Samos.³⁷ Ankaïos, it seems, remained a popular figure, and one closely connected with Samos both in the wider popular imagination and also within Samian civic identity. Overall, two elements of Asius' foundation myth – the descent from the Maeander and the figure of Ankaïos – remained popular on Chios throughout antiquity. Although there were many alternative stories for Chios' foundation in circulation, therefore, it seems that that of Asius was probably especially well known, and tapped into Chian ideas and perspectives.

Asius' foundation myth for Samos is similar in many respects to Ion's myth for Chios, in that it highlights the natural and elemental factors that made up the island. And, like Chios, there is evidence that the Samians had a more general interest in the innate qualities of the land they inhabited beyond simply telling foundation myths about them. Samos' wealth in the archaic and classical periods was to a large extent based on its agricultural productivity, so that like Chios and its viticulture, Samos' wealth and reputation were intrinsically tied up with agricultural productivity.³⁸ Olive branches featured on Samos' silver coins in the fifth century, and Samian

³⁶ It is perhaps relevant that Asius might also have seen the foundations or identities of other cities as equally connected to their geographical features and land. In F14 *IEG* it seems that Asius also wrote about the River Meles as an anthropomorphic character. The Meles was a famous stream of Smyrna, associated with the birth of Homer.

³⁷ Head and Poole 1892: 370.

³⁸ Other economic sectors were also important, such as local trading and textile production. However, it does seem that agricultural produce furnished the main exports of Samos: grain, olives and wine. Timber also seems to have been an important commodity. For details, see Shipley 1987: 5–21.

olives were celebrated in the works of both local and foreign poets.³⁹ But in the case of Samos, it was not just the products of the land that were valuable, but even the land itself. Samian land, or more accurately ‘Samian earth’, was even a commodity in its own right by the fourth century. Samian earth (Σαμία γῆ) was mentioned by Theophrastus as an astringent used in the dyeing of textiles (*Peri Lithon* 62–4), while authors such as Galen, Pliny and Hesychius recorded its medicinal use.⁴⁰ It seems to have been a particular type of white or whitish clay found in specific locations in the west of the island, and it had certain mineral properties that made it suitable for use in preparations from eye salves to soaps. Samian earth seems to have been a recognisable and well-known export of the island, at least by the fourth century but also probably much earlier as well, given that Samos is known to have exported cosmetics as early as the sixth century. The land of Samos not only had symbolic value, contributing to a distinctly Samian sense of identity, it had hard monetary value as well.

This Samian interest in the land itself may also have shaped their civic organisation. In the archaic and classical periods, the Samians were divided into two tribes, or *phylai* (two further tribes were added in the Hellenistic period). It has been convincingly argued that the distinction between these two tribes was not one of ethnicity or status, but rather one of geography.⁴¹ One of the *phylai* was named Astypalaia, a name that must have resonated with that of the mythical grandmother of the eponymous Samos in Asius’ story. However, the name also literally means the ‘old town’, and the Astypalaians are likely to have originally been the urban dwellers of Samos Town, modern Pythagoreion. The other *phyle* was known as Chesia, and it is argued that the Chesians may have been variously associated with the River Chesios, a Cape Chesion, or a town called Chesion. Geographical concerns seemed to have determined not only the tribal divisions at Samos, but also the tribal subdivisions of the *chiliastyes* as well. The very structure of the polis was rooted in the Samian landscape, ordering the citizen body in geographical space. This ordering principle, however, works both ways. A geographical framework for civic organisation not only structures the citizen body around the landscape, it also structures the landscape around the citizen body. Civic

³⁹ For olive branches on Samian coins, see Barron 1966: 7, 184 and 203. For ancient sources on Samian agricultural fertility, see Shipley 1987: 16–18. By the fourth century, Samian olive oil had the reputation for being the best (‘whitest’) of all oils, according to an unknown early source of Athenaeus (Ath. *Deip.* 2.66f.).

⁴⁰ See Shipley 1987, Appendix 2; and Photos-Jones and Hall 2011 for Samian earth.

⁴¹ For discussions of the civic organisation of Samos, see Shipley 1987, Appendix 4, and Jones 1987: 195–202.

and political significance is imposed upon the landscape, transforming the territory both physically and metaphorically into the polis. The land and the people of Samos were one and the same.

The Samians, then, not only focused intently on their land, but also sought to shape both themselves to it and it to themselves. Herodotus (3.60) extols the Samian eagerness for shaping the landscape, stating that the three most impressive feats of Greek engineering were accomplished by them in the sixth century BC. The first of these is the temple of Hera. The Heraion was one of the earliest monumental temples in the Aegean, with a hekatompedon constructed as early as c. 800 BC.⁴² The temple was remodelled several times during its long history, becoming increasingly grand each time. But the Heraion was not just an impressive architectural complex. It also housed an extremely important civic cult for the Samians, and one for which they were famed throughout the Greek world. The head of Hera and imagery associated with the cult appear on Samian coins from the fourth century onwards, and remain in use well into the Roman imperial period.⁴³ Finds from the temple from the EIA through the archaic period demonstrate that the sanctuary had considerable appeal for pilgrims and travellers. Near Eastern and Egyptian material was dedicated in large quantities, including large numbers of bronze figurines.⁴⁴ Votives included not only exotica and imports, but also impressive monumental dedications. In the archaic period the Heraion attracted substantial dedications of sculpture, including monumental sculpture groups such as the Geneleos Group, and a colossal kouros standing some five metres or so high.⁴⁵ It is perhaps significant that myths of the Heraion, like those of the island itself, seem to emphasise natural and autochthonous elements in its origin. Pausanias tells one story about the Samian Heraion, which he attributes to the Samians themselves:

τὸ δὲ ἱερόν τὸ ἐν Σάμῳ τῆς Ἡρας εἰσὶν οἱ ἰδρύσασθαι φασὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀργοῖ πλέοντας, ἐπάγεσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐξ Ἀργους· Σάμιοι δὲ αὐτοὶ τεχθῆναι νομίζουσιν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τὴν θεὸν παρὰ τῷ Ἰμβρᾶσῳ ποταμῷ καὶ ὑπὸ τῇ λύγῳ τῇ ἐν τῷ Ἡραίῳ κατ' ἐμὲ ἔτι πεφυκυίᾳ.

Some say that the sanctuary of Hera on Samos was established by those who sailed in the *Argo*, and that these men brought the cult image from Argos. But the Samians

⁴² For the Samian Heraion, see Kyrieleis 1981; Shipley 1987: 27–8, 42–4, 55–8 and 72–3; Walter 1990; Tsakos 2003: 15–28; Kienast 2007.

⁴³ Head and Poole 1892: 363–95.

⁴⁴ Janzén 1972. For the question of who might have dedicated these items, whether Samians, Egyptians or others, see Bumke 2012.

⁴⁵ For the colossal kouros, see Kyrieleis 1996. For the Geneleos Group, see Baughan 2011.

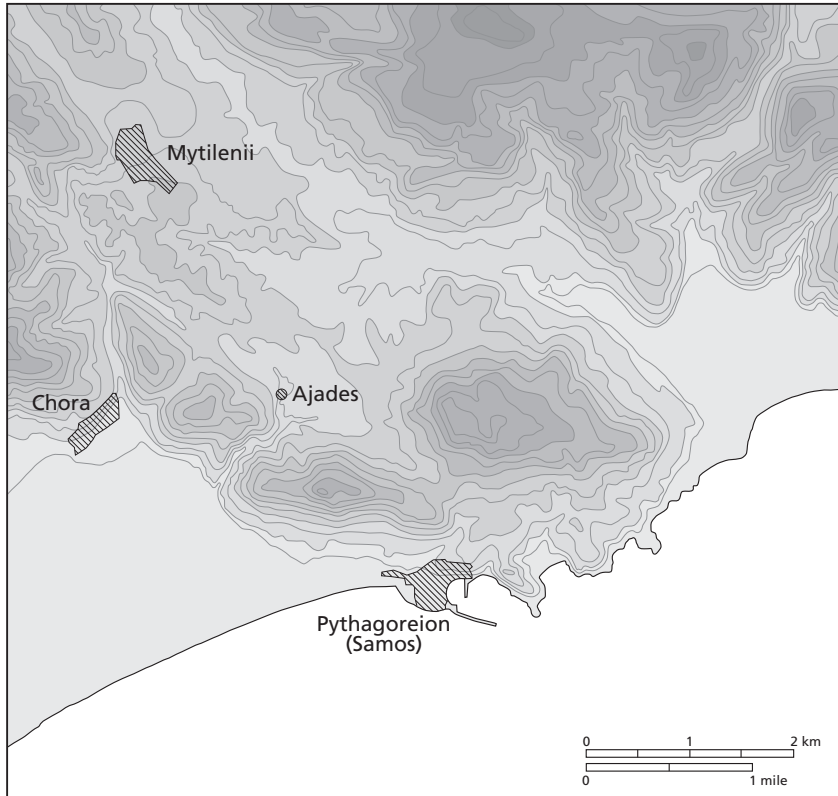
themselves think that the goddess was born on the island by the River Imbrasos under the withy-tree that even in my time sprouted in the Heraion. (Pausanias 7.4.4)

The sanctuary was located in the place where Hera was born, the Samians seem to have claimed, by the River Imbrasos under a particular sacred tree. Because of this, it was said that Samian Hera was sometimes also given the epithet 'Imbrasiē'.⁴⁶ This story may also be alluded to on the coins of the Roman period that feature a river god (see above), if these do not represent the river Maeander. However, in several cases it seems that this river god is indeed the Imbrasos, as in several instances the god is accompanied by a peacock, the sacred bird of Hera which was said to have been first produced and bred at the Heraion (Menodotus *FGrHist* 541 F2). An alternative story about the origins of the sanctuary is reported by Menodotus in the Hellenistic period in his *On Objects at the Temple of the Samian Hera*. He preserves this same idea of natural and autochthonous origins, saying that the sanctuary was built by nymphs and Lelegians (*FGrHist* 541 F1). Given that the sanctuary of Hera was such an important ritual centre for the Samians, and one for which they were famous, it is interesting that the cult, like the island and polis, was thought to have its origins in the natural features of the landscape.

The second of Herodotus' engineering marvels was the harbour mole, which was said to be over three hundred and fifty metres long. Underwater excavations have uncovered the foundations of this mole in the harbour of Samos, at a depth of two metres below the modern mole. These foundations are twenty metres wide, and suggest that the mole would indeed have been an impressive feat of construction.⁴⁷ The third engineering achievement mentioned by Herodotus is the tunnel of Eupalinos. This tunnel was designed to bring fresh water into Samos Town from a spring in a plain near the modern village of Ayiadhēs (marked in the plan as Ajades), passing through the mountain of Kastro that lay between the plain and the city (Figure 6).⁴⁸ The tunnel had three main components. The first was the intake from the spring at Ayiadhēs, and a channel carrying the water from the spring across the plain to the foot of Mount Kastro. The second was the tunnel itself, running for over a kilometre through the core of the mountain. The third was a network of pipes and channels to distribute the water to various areas within the city. Each of these three components would have presented Eupalinos and his team of engineers and builders with different challenges, but it is perhaps because of this that the tunnel continues to inspire the most awe and attract the most attention. It was said to have taken ten years to chisel through the

⁴⁶ See Apollonius of Rhodes 1.187; Herodorus *FGrHist* 31 F45. ⁴⁷ Jantzen 1968.

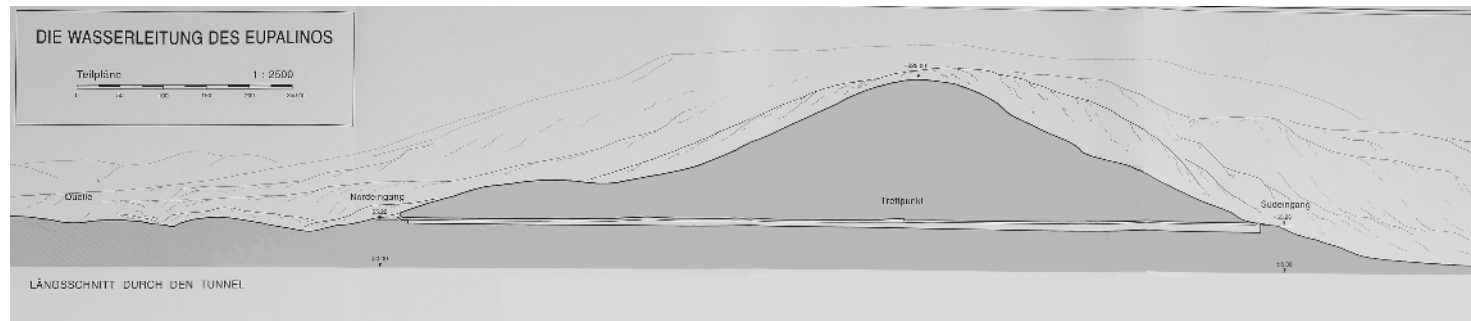
⁴⁸ See Kienast 1995 for a detailed discussion of the tunnel.



6. Topographical map of the area around Samos Town, showing the location of the spring providing the water for the tunnel of Eupalinos.

mountain from both ends, and within the trench of the tunnel were laid over four thousand terracotta pipes to carry the water (Figure 7). But perhaps the most baffling aspect of this tunnel is that it was not strictly necessary. A quicker and easier way to move water from the plain to the city would have been to run a channel around the contours of Mount Kastro at its base. Tunnelling through the middle of the mountain itself was a much more difficult feat, requiring greater time and resources. By choosing to construct the tunnel, the Samians were moulding the very earth to suit their purposes, creating the physical land of their island through engineering, just as Asius created the mythic land through Samos' genealogy.

In general, then, Samians seem to have had some interest in configuring and constructing their relationship with the territory that they occupied. They seem to have been particularly concerned with the makeup of the land itself – the very construction and structure of the island. The elements that



7. Cross-section through the tunnel of Eupalinos on Samos.

comprise the territory of Samos – the land, the sea, the rivers – all feature heavily in both the foundation myth of the city and also the wider polis mind-set. The making of the land is a persistent theme: whether mythically through the union of different natural forces, symbolically through the structuring of *phylai* and *chiliastyes*, or physically through the construction of ambitious engineering works. In this, the Samians appear to have been somewhat different from their neighbours the Chians. The Chians seem to have emphasised the stability and continuity of the land itself in contrast to the fleeting nature of human populations and political structures. Oinopion was a mediating figure between the two, viticulture creating a relationship between land and people and standing for the rooting of people in their territory. In contrast, the Samians seem to have been less interested in negotiating a relationship with the enduring landscape, and more in the making of that landscape. Asius' foundation myth tells of the creation of the land by the forces of nature and the elements. The Samian polis structured the land through the application and naming of its organisational divisions. Teams of engineers and architects remodelled the land by feats of physical engineering. Despite the similarities between Samos and Chios in the general form and the key messages of their foundation myths, there are also subtle differences in emphasis and perspective.

It is significant that the two islands of Ionia – Chios and Samos – have common elements in their approach to their own foundation. Despite the difference in emphasis mentioned above, the overall similarities between the two islands are striking. We have summaries of the work of local authors from both islands, and both seem to have made comparable claims about their home *poleis*. In the poetry of both Ion and Asius, there is a deep underlying interest in the land and the emplacement of the polis in the landscape. In both myths, an eponymous founder is introduced. These eponymous founders have a genealogy that draws from divine, natural or geographical features – the land, sea, sky, continents and rivers. As island heroes, both Samos and Chios claimed Poseidon as an ancestor. As founders, they are neither human nor heroic. Instead, they personify and embody their islands, standing as symbols for the lands they inhabited. There is a distinction here between the claims made about the eponymous founders of each island and the populations of the islands themselves. It is significant that neither Ion nor Asius claims that inhabitants of the islands were autochthonous. Both myths speak of different groups of migrants from various different origins. Different ethnic and cultural groups are described as coming to both islands, and passing

through the place. There is no sense of cultural opposition here, of one group being set up in direct opposition to the other. Instead, the various groups come and go. Only the (is)land itself is a constant.

The myths recounted by Ion and Asius are unlike those of Miletus that we saw in the previous chapter. There are, of course, different types of foundation myths which function at different levels. One type of myth – that which we saw in the stories concerning Miletus – concentrates on the establishment of social structures. These myths may be concerned with the civic foundations of *poleis* or with religious foundations of a cult. Indeed, the two most usually go hand in hand. In this chapter, however, we have been considering a qualitatively different type of myth altogether – myths associated with the origins of the land and the creation of the land as a socially meaningful place.⁴⁹ These two types of myth can be combined and complementary, and it is certainly possible for the same polis to have different myths relating to these different levels of foundation. What is interesting in the case of Chios and Samos is that our evidence for both *poleis* suggests that they were far more concerned about the latter type of myth than the former. Why should the two islands both have a fixation on emplacement and the landscape?

This preoccupation with land and territory appears to have been part of a wider phenomenon in both Chian and Samian society. Not only do we find it in the foundation stories told by their native poets, we also find it in local cult, in civic iconography, in the organisational structures of the polis itself, and in onomastic practices and trends. What is it about these island *poleis* that made them less interested in migration and civic foundation, and more concerned with the very landscape? The reasons for this must lie somewhere in the nature of their island identities and the way that they, as islands, would have interacted with their neighbours on all sides. Historically, the amount of exchange and interaction between the two islands has been relatively small.⁵⁰ For example, it has been commented that the two developed divergent stylistic and craftworking traditions in the archaic period.⁵¹ It is therefore all the more striking that Samian and Chian writers seem to have adopted such a similar approach to their foundation myths.

⁴⁹ For a cross-cultural study of foundation myths constructing a sense of place and territory, see Detienne 1990.

⁵⁰ Shipley 1987: 11. ⁵¹ Kyrieleis 1986.

Manto, the *oikist* of Colophon

οἱ δὲ τὴν Θηβαΐδα γεγεραφότες φασὶν ὅτι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐπιγόνων ἀκροθίνιον ἀνετέθη Μαντῷ ἢ Τειρεσίου θυγάτηρ εἰς Δελφοὺς πεμφθεῖσα, καὶ κατὰ χρησμόν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐξερχομένη περιέπεσε Ῥακίῳ τῷ Λέβητος υἱῷ, Μυκηναίῳ τὸ γένος. καὶ γημαμένη αὐτῷ (τοῦτο γὰρ περιεῖχε τὸ λόγιον, γαμεῖσθαι ὧν ἂν συναντήσῃ), ἐλθοῦσα εἰς Κολοφῶνα καὶ ἐκεῖ δυσθυμήσασα ἐδάκρυσε διὰ τὴν τῆς πατρίδος πόρθησιν, διόπερ ὠνομάσθη Κλάρως ἀπὸ τῶν δακρύων. ἐποίησεν δὲ Ἀπόλλωνι ἱερόν.

Those who wrote the *Thebais* say that Manto the daughter of Teiresias was sent to Delphi by the Epigoni as a first fruit of their spoil, and that, setting out in accordance with an oracle of Apollo, she met Rhacius the son of Lebes, of the Mycenaean people [γένος]. She married him – for the oracle included that she should marry whomever she encountered – and coming to Colophon, she felt melancholy there and wept over the destruction of her homeland. And so the place was called Claros after those tears. She established the temple of Apollo. (*Epigonoι* f3 (GEF))

The foundation myths attached to the city of Colophon are unusual. Most of them revolve around three generations of the same family: the blind seer Teiresias, his daughter Manto and her son Mopsus.¹ The story is set in the aftermath of the legendary war of the Seven against Thebes. The victorious Epigonoι, having avenged the deaths of their fathers, sent prisoners to the oracle at Delphi as thank-offerings for their victory. Amongst these prisoners, we hear, were the prophet Teiresias and his daughter. It is unclear how long Manto and Teiresias spent at Delphi, but at some stage the oracle seems to have instructed Manto to leave and found a new city. This Manto duly did, setting out from Delphi and somewhere along the way meeting and marrying Rhacius. She then founded the city of Colophon and its attendant oracular temple of Apollo at Claros; but, it seems, she never quite forgot her homeland of Thebes. Her weeping eventually gave its name to the sanctuary she founded.² A second

¹ Discussions of Colophon's various foundation myths can be found in Sakellariou 1958: 146–72; Prinz 1979: 16–34; and Parke 1985: 112–23.

² At least three different etymologies were given in antiquity of the name Claros – the tears of Manto in the *Epigonoι* f4, the eponymous hero cited in Theopompus *FGrHist* 115 f346, and the drawing of a lot (*kleros*), as suggested in Nearchos *FGrHist* 133 f29.

chapter of the tale opens some years later, after the end of the Trojan War. The prophet of the Achaeans, Calchas, travelled south with his companions from Troy and, upon arriving at Colophon, entered into a contest of prophetic skill with Manto's son Mopsus. After losing the contest, Calchas promptly died – his heart broken at meeting a seer more gifted than himself. This, it was said, was all in accordance with prophecy, as Calchas was destined to die once he met with a more powerful seer. Sometime later again, Mopsus seems to have grown restless in his mother's city of Colophon, and left with one of Calchas' old companions to found his own kingdom in Cilicia.³

The myth of Manto was widely repeated in antiquity, and appears in a number of sources from the archaic and classical periods as well as in later texts. One likely example of this comes from the fragmentary works of the fourth-century historian Theopompus of Chios. Theopompus' version of the story has now been lost, but it does seem that a prominent historian, orator and pamphleteer told the story of Manto, presumably in his *Hellenika*. According to the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (1.308), Theopompus seems to have suggested two potential founders for the sanctuary at Claros – either Manto, or an eponymous hero called Claros:

Κλάρων τόπος Κολοφῶνος: ἀνιερωμένος Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ χρηστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ, ὑπὸ Μαντοῦς τῆς Τειρεσίου θυγατρὸς καθιδρυμένον ἢ ὑπὸ Κλάρου τινὸς ἥρωος, ὡς Θεόπομπος

Claros, a place of Colophon: dedicated to Apollo and the oracle of the god, established by Manto the daughter of Teiresias being made to settle there or by a certain hero Claros, as Theopompus says. (Theopompus *FGrHist* 115 F346)

It should be noted that this fragment is ambiguous about what exactly was originally said by Theopompus. It is unclear whether he offered both Manto and the eponymous hero as alternative possible founders, or whether he only mentioned the eponymous hero. Nonetheless, this is far from being the only other text that refers to Manto in relation to the foundation of Colophon and Claros. A wide range of other sources also mention Manto and her family in this respect. Several other texts focus not on the moment of civic foundation itself, but instead on a later chapter in Manto's story, once she has established herself in Colophon and given birth to her son, Mopsus. However, despite their main focus being on Mopsus rather than his mother, it is clear that these

³ Mopsus' activities in Cilicia have been the focus of much scholarly interest. This has been especially sparked by the appearance of a figure with a similar name (Muksas) located in Cilicia by Hittite documents, and also on a Luwian–Phoenician bilingual inscription from Karatepe in Cilicia. The possibility of a historical personage or perhaps a dynasty with this name has been the subject of much speculation. See Barnett 1953; Lane Fox 2008: 222–39; Oettinger 2008. Interestingly, Xanthos claimed that Mopsus was originally a Lydian (*FGrHist* 765 F17).

authors nonetheless connect Colophon to the Mantid dynasty and to the vision of Colophon's history that the Manto story implies.⁴ The Hesiodic *Melampodia*, written in the sixth century, describes how the Achaean seer Calchas came to Claros after the end of the Trojan War:

λέγεται δὲ Κάλχας ὁ μάντις μετ' Ἀμφιλόχου τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου κατὰ τὴν ἐκ Τροίας ἐπάνοδον πεζῇ δεῦρο ἀφικέσθαι, περιτυχὼν δ' ἑαυτοῦ κρείττονι μάντει κατὰ τὴν Κλάρων, Μόψῳ τῷ Μαντοῦς τῆς Τειρεσίου θυγατρὸς, διὰ λύπην ἀποθανεῖν. Ἡσίοδος μὲν οὖν οὕτω πῶς διασκευάζει τὸν μῦθον: προτείνει γάρ τι τοιοῦτο τῷ Μόψῳ τὸν Κάλχαντα 'θαῦμά μ' ἔχει κατὰ θυμόν, ὅσους ἐρινειὸς δλύνθους οὔτος ἔχει μικρὸς περ ἑών: εἴποις ἂν ἀριθμόν,' τὸν δ' ἀποκρίνασθαι 'μῦριοι εἰσιν ἀριθμόν, ἀτὰρ μέτρον γε μέδιμνος: εἷς δὲ περισσεύει, τὸν ἐπενέμεν οὐ κε δύναίαι.' ὥς φάτο: καὶ σφιν ἀριθμὸς ἐτήτυμος εἶδετο μέτρον. καὶ τότε δὴ Κάλχανθ' ὕπνος θανάτοιο κάλυψε.

It is said that Calchas the prophet, with Amphilocheus the son of Amphiaraus, came here on foot coming up from Troy, happened upon a better prophet than himself at Claros – Mopsus, the son of Manto, the daughter of Teiresias. From the pain of this, he died. Hesiod revises the myth in this way, that Calchas offered the following challenge to Mopsus: 'I am amazed in my spirit at how many figs there are on this wild fig tree, although it is small; can you tell me the number?' And Mopsus is said to have replied: 'They are ten thousand in number, and fill a medimnus measure-bowl; but there is one extra, which you won't fit into the measure-bowl.' So he spoke. And the number was proved true when they were poured into the measure-bowl. And Calchas was overcome by the sleep of death. (Hesiod, *Melampodia* F278 M-W⁵)

Another author who treated the same subject is Pherecydes, sometime later in the fifth century. Pherecydes also writes about the oracular contest between Calchas and Mopsus, but states that the question in dispute did not concern the number of wild figs on a tree, but rather the number and sex of piglets being carried by a pregnant sow:

Φερεκίδης δὲ φησιν ὅν προβάλειν ἔγκυν τὸν Κάλχαντα πόσους ἔχει χοίρους, τὸν δ' εἰπεῖν ὅτι τρεῖς, ὧν ἓνα θῆλυν: ἀληθεύσαντος δ' ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ λύπης.

But Pherecydes says that the question asked by Calchas was about how many piglets were carried in a pregnant sow, and that Mopsus said: 'Three, with one being female.' And when it was proved true, Calchas died from grief. (Pherecydes *FGrHist* 3 F142)

Stories about Calchas meeting the Mantid family in Colophon are also mentioned in a number of other works, which survive in such an extremely

⁴ I use the term 'Mantid' here merely as convenient shorthand to refer to the mythical family of seers comprising Teiresias, Manto and Mopsus. I do not wish to imply that there may have been a historical dynasty that claimed descent from this line in the archaic period.

⁵ This passage can also be found as F1 of the *Melampodia* in the Loeb volume of Hesiodic fragments, translated by H. G. Evelyn-White (1922).

fragmentary state that we cannot even be sure what they would have originally said about the encounter between Calchas and his Mantid hosts. It is reported that the poet Callinus of Ephesus wrote about Calchas' death in Colophon in the seventh century, although no details at all of Callinus' version of the story survive (Strabo 14.4.3). Similarly, it seems that the lost epic poem the *Nostoi* originally presented the story in some detail:

συνάπτει δὲ τούτοις τὰ τῶν Νόστων βιβία πέντε Ἀγίου Τροιζηνίου περιέχοντα τάδε ... οἱ δὲ περὶ Κάλχαντα καὶ Λεονέα καὶ Πολυποίτην πεζῇ πορευθέντες εἰς Κολοφῶνα Τειρεσίαν ἐνταῦθα τελευτήσαντα θάπτουσι.

Linked to this [the story of the Sack of Troy] is *The Nostoi* in five books by Agias of Troezen, covering the following things ... Those with Calchas, Leontes, and Polypoetes went overland by foot to Colophon where they had to bury Teiresias who had died. (Proclus, *Chrestomathia* 11; see also *Nostoi* F1 GEF)

These fragments and testimonials are tantalisingly brief and frustratingly scrappy. However, they are enough to tell us that the connection between Colophon, Claros and the Mantids was widely held during the seventh, sixth and fifth centuries. Although they do not all explicitly deal with the figure of Manto herself, they all assume the Mantid occupation of Colophon as a necessary prerequisite for the action of their stories. Manto's link to Colophon and Claros may not be directly discussed, but it is certainly assumed.

Indeed, the story of Manto herself must have remained in circulation, as it was retold much later by other authors. In the second century AD, Pausanias recounted a slightly altered version of the story, which described Rhacius as a Cretan rather than a Mycenaean, and claimed that he arrived at Colophon before Manto, living alongside the indigenous Carians there for some time:

Κολοφώνιοι δὲ τὸ μὲν ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Κλάρῳ καὶ τὸ μαντεῖον ἐκ παλαιοτάτου γενέσθαι νομίζουσιν: ἐχόντων δὲ ἔτι τὴν γῆν Καρῶν ἀφικέσθαι φασὶν εἰς αὐτὴν πρῶτους τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Κρήτης, Ῥάκιον καὶ ὅσον εἶπετο ἄλλο τῷ Ῥακίῳ καὶ ὅσον ἔτι πλεῖστος, ἔχον τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσσει καὶ ναυσὶν ἰσχυρὸν: τῆς δὲ χώρας τὴν πολλὴν ἐνέμοντο ἔτι οἱ Κᾶρες. Θερσάνδρου δὲ τοῦ Πολυνείκου καὶ Ἀργείων ἐλόντων Θήβας καὶ ἄλλοι τε αἰχμάλωτοι καὶ ἡ Μαντῶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐκομίσθησαν εἰς Δελφούς: Τειρεσίαν δὲ κατὰ τὴν πορείαν τὸ χρεῶν ἐπέλαβεν ἐν τῇ Ἀλιαρτίᾳ. ἐκπέμψαντος δὲ σφᾶς εἰς ἀποικίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, περαιοῦνται ναυσὶν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, καὶ ὡς κατὰ τὴν Κλάρων ἐγένοντο, ἐπεξίσταν αὐτοῖς οἱ Κρήτες μετὰ ὀπλῶν καὶ ἀνάγουσιν ὡς τὸν Ῥάκιον: ὁ δὲ – μανθάνει γὰρ παρὰ τῆς Μαντοῦς οἵτινές τε ἀνθρώπων ὄντες καὶ κατὰ αἰτίαν ἦντινα ἦκουσι – λαμβάνει μὲν γυναῖκα τὴν Μαντῶ, ποιεῖται δὲ καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῇ συνοίκους. Μόψος δὲ ὁ Ῥακίου καὶ Μαντοῦς καὶ τὸ παράπαν τοὺς Κᾶρας ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς.

The Colophonians think that the temple of Claros and the oracle were established in the most ancient past. They say that the first of the Greeks to arrive on the land when

it was occupied by the Carians were the Cretans – Rhacius and those others who followed Rhacius, and many others. They occupied the shore and were strong in ships, but most of the territory was distributed amongst the Carians. When Thersander, the son of Polyneices, and the Argives took Thebes, among the prisoners given to Apollo at Delphi was Manto. Her father Teiresias had succumbed to fate [i.e. died] along the way in Haliartia. When they had been sent out by the god to found a colony [ἀποικίαν], they were carried over to Asia by ships, and when they came to Claros the Cretans came out against them bearing arms and led them to Rhacius. But he, learning from Manto what people they were and by what twist of fate they had come to be there, took Manto as his wife, and allowed the people with her to settle. Mopsus, the son of Rhacius and Manto, threw the Carians out of the land altogether. (Pausanias 7.3.1–2)

In Pausanias' version, Manto is no longer credited with being the first Greek leader to arrive at Colophon – Rhacius is instead placed in this role. However, Pausanias still makes it clear that it is Manto who is given the divine mandate to found a colony, and that the colony itself only takes proper root as the result of her arrival. This is a point to which Pausanias returns later on in the *Description of Greece*, saying:

τὴν δὲ θυγατέρα τοῦ Τειρεσίου δοθῆναι μὲν φασὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀργείων, προστάξαντος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν νῦν Ἰωνίαν καὶ Ἰωνίας ἐς τὴν Κολοφώνιαν περαιωθῆναι. καὶ ἡ μὲν αὐτόθι συνώκησεν ἡ Μαντῶ Ῥακίῳ Κρητί.

They say that the daughter of Teiresias was given to Apollo by the Argives, and that she, commanded by the god, was carried by ships to what is now Ionia and Ionian Colophon. And there Manto married the Cretan Rhacius. (Pausanias 9.33.2)

Apollodorus also records Calchas' contest with Mopsus and his subsequent death (*Bibliotheca* E.6.2–4). As with the fragments and testimonia from Hesiod, Callinus and Pherecydes, the focus of this fragment is not the story of Manto and the foundation of Colophon, but rather the later episode featuring Manto's son Mopsus. However, like these earlier works once again, the story of Mopsus and Calchas is itself predicated on Manto's original arrival at Colophon and presupposes it. Indeed, Mopsus' parentage is of explicit interest in the Apollodorus passage. Mopsus is first introduced as ὃς Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Μαντοῦς παῖς ὑπῆρχεν (being a child of Apollo and Manto); and later Mopsus himself is said to boast: ἐγὼ δ' Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Μαντοῦς παῖς ὑπάρχων τῆς ἀκριβοῦς μαντείας τὴν ὀξυδορκίαν πάντως πλουτῶ (I, being a child of Apollo and Manto, am very rich in the sharp-sightedness of exact prophecy).

Writing in either the first century BC or AD, the mythographer Konon also recorded the story of Mopsus and Calchas (*FGrHist* 26 F1.4), this time prefaced

by the explicit statement that it was Mopsus' mother who was responsible for the establishment of the oracle at Claros (τῆς μηρὸς τελευτησάσης ἐκδέχεται κληρὸν τὸ ἐν Κλάρῳ Ἀπόλλωνος μαντεῖον). From these later authors, it is clear that the myth of Manto and her family at Colophon was popular, widespread and frequently repeated throughout antiquity.

It should be noted that the story of Manto at Colophon is a complex one with many variants, and nowhere survives as a single unified narrative. Instead, certain episodes are preserved in fragments of different authors, with the different accounts of the story recording different details. The basic story of Manto and the foundation of Colophon, however, does seem to have been in general circulation by the archaic period and the sixth or seventh century, as evident from the fragments from Hesiod, Callinus of Ephesus and the poems of the epic cycle the *Epigoni* and the *Nostoi*. It continued in circulation in several variants throughout the classical period, as evident from Pherecydes and Theopompus, and was retold even later in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, for example by Pausanias, Konon, Apollodorus and Nicolaus of Damascus. But as we have already seen, the existence of alternative versions of a city's origin myths is by no means unusual, and indeed often holds the key to the ideologies lying behind the myths. Colophon's foundation story, then, is not unusual on account of these alternative versions.

In addition, the general outline of the story is familiar. Indeed, the basic scheme of the story falls into a common pattern that can be seen in several other foundation stories from the archaic and classical periods. This pattern often runs as follows: something terrible happens back home in the mother-city; the *oikist* goes to Delphi and receives instructions to found a new city; then the *oikist* goes and founds a new city.⁶ Although not all foundation myths fall into this pattern, it was nonetheless a familiar model, and was used for Greek colonial cities from Magna Graecia to the Black Sea. However, what makes the foundation of Colophon unusual is not the structure of the story itself, but its central features and its impressive popularity and longevity.

One obvious feature marking out the Colophon story is the emphasis on divination. Prophecy is a key feature of all the surviving versions of the myth – whether it is the prophetic command from Delphi to found a colony, the establishment of the prophetic sanctuary of Claros, or the prophetic duelling over figs and pigs. In addition, all the main characters in the story – Teiresias, Manto, Mopsus and Calchas – are seers. Mopsus' prophetic skill was said to be

⁶ The scheme is presented here in simplified form. See Dougherty 1993 for a more detailed discussion. It has also been argued that this schema does not accurately characterise all Greek foundation myths (Hall 2008), but it is perhaps interesting that it can be applied to Manto at Colophon.

greater than that of the famous Calchas. His mother was similarly gifted, acting as a seer and priestess of Apollo, and according to some sources also as a Sibyl during her stay at Delphi.⁷ Teiresias was even more eminent as a seer, and could count Odysseus, Peneus and Creon amongst his consultees.⁸ Only Rhacius does not seem to have possessed any prophetic abilities. However, it is evident that he plays no more than a supporting role in this story. His name literally means ‘raggedy’, and it is even noted in the fragment of the *Epigonoi* quoted at the start of this chapter that he was poor and badly dressed. Manto’s husband, then, is not presented as an important heroic figure in the story. The real stars of this show are the seers.

The importance of divination in the founding myth of Colophon must relate to the city’s close relationship with the nearby sanctuary of Claros. Claros was an important oracle of Apollo, and has been shown to be of great antiquity.⁹ There are traces of cultic activity here from the tenth century onwards, in the form of bronze votive offerings and fine ceramic vessels for ritual drinking and libations. The site seems to have grown as a cult centre over the centuries, with rich deposits of terracotta figurines dedicated in the eighth century and the building of a monumental round altar to Apollo in the final years of the seventh. The sanctuary was expanded in the sixth century with the construction of a new rectangular altar to Apollo and the archaic temple, and the dedication of fine marble statues. Claros in the archaic and classical periods was a thriving oracle, prospering through the centuries despite conquests, economic instability and regime change. The sanctuary was also referred to in contemporary texts. The *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, for example, mentions ‘gleaming Claros’ (line 40). The *Homeric Hymn to Artemis* raises Claros’ profile yet higher – in the poem it is the place where Apollo waits to meet his sister at the start of the hymn (line 5).¹⁰ The oracle

⁷ For Manto at Delphi, see Euripides, *Phoenissae* 834ff and Diodorus Siculus 4.66.5.

⁸ For some appearances of Teiresias see Homer, *Odyssey* 10.490–5 and 11.90–151; Hesiod, *Melampodia* ɤ275 M-W; Pherecydes *FGrH* 3 ɤ92; Pindar, *Nemean* 1.60; Sophocles, *Antigone* 988ff; Euripides, *Phoenissae* 834ff. For a red-figure vase painting of Teiresias, see Luynes Collection 731 Inv. 422. Bibliothèque Nat., Cabinet des Médailles, Paris.

⁹ French excavations at the site of Claros first started in 1891, and have been conducted intermittently since then. See Picard 1922 (for early excavations until the start of the First World War); Robert and Robert 1989 (for excavations 1946–61); de la Gèniere 1992 and de la Gèniere and Jolivet 2003 (for work since 1988). For specific details of the archaic and classical remains, see de la Gèniere 1998, de la Gèniere 2007, and de la Gèniere and Jolivet 2003. Since 2001, new excavations have been carried out by a Turkish team. For the annual excavation reports, see Şahin et al. 2003, 2004, 2005, 2009, 2010 and 2011.

¹⁰ The prominence of Claros in the *Homeric Hymn to Artemis* has even led commentators to suggest that the hymn was composed specifically to celebrate the consecration of the new temple to Artemis alongside the main temple to Apollo: Parke 1985: 121.

remained important in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, as attested by lavish architectural remains and the rich epigraphic record.¹¹

But Claros was not just a high-profile oracle, popular with a range of petitioners from across the ancient world. It also held great civic importance for the Colophonians themselves from at least the sixth century onwards.¹² From this point, the coins of Colophon displayed the head of Apollo, and from the start of the fifth century also began to depict the lyre of Apollo. Indeed, over the five centuries that the city issued its own coinage, its coins predominantly featured Apolline imagery throughout, including Apollo and Artemis heads, lyres, tripods, and both full-length and seated figures of Apollo. From the time of the Roman emperor Nero, this imagery is sometimes specifically labelled with the legends ΚΛΑΠΙΟΣ for Apollo and ΚΛΑΠΙΑ for Artemis.¹³ This close connection between the city of Colophon and its sanctuary of Claros is also evident in the epigraphic record, both from the sanctuary and from the city. For example, one inscription from the early fourth century records the decision of the people (demos) of Colophon to build a new set of walls around their city.¹⁴ The inscription makes reference to the first foundation of the city by the ancestors of the current Colophonians. We are specifically told that these ancestors founded not only the city but also the temples and altars (τοῖς προγόνοις ἡμῶν κτίσαντες ἐκεῖνοι καὶ ναοὺς καὶ βωμοὺς: column 1, lines 10–11). The founding of the city of Colophon was seen as directly linked to the establishment of the city's cults and sanctuaries. For much of antiquity, therefore, Claros and its oracle were an absolutely vital part of Colophonian civic identity. The focus on prophecy and prophets in the foundation myths of Colophon must be in some part due to this close relationship between the city and its oracle. Whether it is more indicative of how others saw Colophon or of how Colophonians saw themselves, the foundation myth of Manto presents the city as deeply and inextricably linked to divination, prophecy and the oracle at Claros.

The second notable feature of these myths is the centrality of Manto. Of the three generations of seers linked to the city, it is Manto who receives the instructions from Apollo to establish a new foundation, and it is Manto who

¹¹ For Claros in this late period, see Parke 1985: 125–70; Robert and Robert 1989; Etienne and Varène 2004. The oracle is also mentioned in later texts: for example, Tacitus (*Annals* 2.54) records Germanicus' consultation of the oracle in AD 18, Iamblichus featured Claros in his *De Mysteriis* (3.11), and Ammianus Marcellinus also referred to it in his *Res Gestae* (19.12.13).

¹² It has been argued that Claros was not strongly connected to Colophon in the seventh century, and was instead perhaps more closely linked to Notion. See below for a discussion of this argument.

¹³ For Colophon's coinage, see Milne 1941. ¹⁴ Meritt 1935, no. 1.

accomplishes the actual founding of Colophon and its attendant sanctuary at Claros. Manto's activities are not in themselves unusual. After all, as was mentioned above, they fall into a familiar pattern of *oikists* in other foundation stories elsewhere. What is unusual at Colophon is that the city's founding hero is a woman. This transfer of gender roles is remarkable. Surviving myths from other Greek cities overwhelmingly feature male *oikists*. It is not that women do not appear in foundation myths – on the contrary, they often play vital roles in Greek origin stories. However, these roles are always passive ones. For example, they frequently appear as the matriarchs of important genealogies, like Callisto or Creousa.¹⁵ The Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* illustrates this on a grand scale, listing a series of legendary women who had sex with gods or heroes and thereby became the ancestors of specific ethnic groups, clans and noble families.¹⁶ Women can give also their names to cities and locations, such as Cyrene or Samia.¹⁷ These eponymous women are more often than not nymphs, and are usually also the mothers of founding heroes or the first kings of the cities in question. They are primarily of interest not on their own account, but for their sexual partners and the children they bear. In the *Catalogue of Women*, for example, it has been remarked that the women themselves are physically objectified as sexual objects.¹⁸ Women do not undertake travel or other actions on their own account. The foundation stories tend to happen to them, rather than because of them. They are primarily discussed in the context of their offspring, who are often the main focus of the myth. Female passivity in foundation myths is particularly significant for cities considered to be colonies or on 'foreign' soil. The passivity of women and their subordination to the male characters of the myths is often a metaphor for the colonial relationship. Women in these stories are often cast as

¹⁵ Callisto was raped by Zeus and bore Arcas, the eponymous hero of the Arcadians (Hesiod f163 M-W; Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 3.8.2). Raped by Apollo, Creousa was the mother of Ion, the eponymous ancestor of the Ionians (Eur. *Ion*; Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 1.50).

¹⁶ See chapters in Hunter 2005 for recent discussion of the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*.

¹⁷ The nymph Cyrene was abducted by Apollo and abandoned on the coast of Libya to bring up a child who would go on to found the city that would bear her name (Pindar, *Pythian* 9; see Calame 1990). Samia was the daughter of the River Maeander who married the first king of Samos, Ankaïos (according to Asius of Samos: see Chapter 5). It has been argued that in Pindar's *Pythian* 9, Cyrene is presented as a female *oikist*, as she is explicitly described as the ruler and the *archegetis* of her settlement (lines 7 and 54; see Kearns 2013, 62 for this argument). However, I would argue that Cyrene remains the victim of a divine rape (however benignly it may be described by Pindar), and that as she does not instigate the migratory or colonial movement herself, her position remains somewhat different to that of Manto.

¹⁸ Osborne 2005.

representatives of indigenous populations, subordinate to their colonist husbands and the mothers by them of a new hybrid colonial line.¹⁹

In contrast to all these passive matriarchs, Manto does not fall into the familiar pattern set by other female figures in foundation stories. She is not transported to Colophon and abandoned there by a god, nor is she a native of Colophon who is impregnated by a wandering Greek hero. Her son, Mopsus, is not the first leader or king of the city, and nor is he honoured in the historical period as the town's main civic hero. In fact, Mopsus left Colophon to found his own cities in Cilicia. It is not Mopsus, but rather Manto who is the hero of this story. Instead of falling into the standard female pattern, Manto assumes the typically masculine functions and responsibilities of the *oikist*, undertaking exactly the same sequence of actions that male *oikists* usually undertook.

Manto, Colophon and Claros

It is perhaps significant here that much of the action of the Mantid myths occurs not at the city of Colophon itself, but rather at its attendant oracle of Claros. As we have already seen, it is the norm within most Greek foundation traditions to attribute the establishment of major civic cults to the *oikist*. As a general rule, it can be assumed that the foundation of the city and the foundation of its cult tend to come together in a single package. However, in the case of Manto it is not immediately clear whether this is the case. We have already noted that Manto's sex makes her a highly unusual *oikist* for a Greek city. If she were to be posited as the founder of Claros, but not of Colophon, then this would account for that gender anomaly. In the passage of the *Epigonoí*, the place named after Manto's tears is Claros, and the only thing she is explicitly said to have created (ἐποίησεν) was the temple of Apollo. The reference to Theopompus' version of the story also seems to say that Manto was made to settle down at Claros in particular. In addition to this, it could be argued that some texts of the later periods do give Mopsus a more active role in the foundation of the city. The Roman author Pomponius Mela, writing in the first century AD, explicitly stated that Manto founded Claros after her flight from Greece, but that it was Mopsus who founded Colophon itself (1.78). Less explicit is the account of Pausanias quoted above, where Manto and Rhacius are credited with the first settling of a community but where Mopsus is said

¹⁹ See [Chapter 4](#).

to have been the first to push inland and oust the Carians. As Colophon did lie a considerable way inland (c. 14 km), Pausanias' text would be consistent with the idea of Mopsus founding the city itself.

Several commentators have preferred to reconstruct the 'complete' myth as encompassing first Manto's foundation of Claros and then Mopsus' later foundation of Colophon. The evidence for this, however, is not strong. The texts that suggest that it may have been Mopsus who founded Colophon are significantly later in date than the period considered in this book. No explicit statement to this effect is made prior to Pomponius Mela in the first century AD. Pausanias' story of the expulsion of the Carians also cannot be retrojected to the archaic and classical periods. And even if this were indeed possible, the expulsion of local groups does not have to be contemporary with the foundation of the city, as we have seen from the case of Chios in [Chapter 5](#). The argument that Mopsus, not Manto, was the *oikist* of Colophon is not based on firm evidence and scholarship. Instead, the case against Manto as an *oikist* seems to owe more to a general unease with the idea of a female founder. Sakellariou, for example, argues that the Manto story is so outlandish that it must have been an invention of the priests at Claros, in an attempt to give the oracle a Delphic origin and to raise its profile in relation to other oracles and sanctuaries in western Anatolia.²⁰ Prinz agrees that the Manto story must have been designed to bolster the reputation of the Clarian oracle by linking it to Delphi. Furthermore, he suggests that the figure of Rhacius must have been added to the story, as it would have been impossible to conceive of Manto reaching Colophon unaccompanied.²¹ It does indeed seem likely that Manto's popularity stemmed partly from her connection to Delphi and her prophetic abilities. However, this does not mean that she was not significant for Colophonian civic identity as well.

Parke has less of an objection to Manto's role as an *oikist*, but nonetheless sees her story as primarily a Clarian, rather than a Colophonian, foundation myth. He suggests that the Manto stories might originally have been promoted by Notion, which was Colophon's port on the coast.²² Parke points out that if Notion was independent from Colophon prior to this, and that if it was an Aeolian rather than an Ionian settlement, it may have had an interest in claiming Claros for itself by giving Claros an Aeolian Theban founder: Manto. However, this argument relies on three key pieces of literary evidence, all of which are problematic. Notion's independence, it is argued, may be implied by an Athenian decree of 403/2 thanking the citizens of Ephesus and Notion for sheltering pro-Athenian refugees from Samos without mentioning

²⁰ Sakellariou 1958: 150–4. ²¹ Prinz 1979: 21. ²² Parke 1985: 118–23.

Colophon (Tod 2.97.8). However, this is not firm evidence for Notion's independence, and does not in any case imply that any independence was particularly long lived.²³ The idea that Notion was an Aeolian rather than an Ionian settlement is based on a passage of Herodotus (1.149) listing Notion amongst the Aeolian cities. However, there is no reason to assume that the Aeolian Notion mentioned by Herodotus is necessarily the same place as the port near Colophon, especially given its location far south of Aeolis.²⁴ The idea of conflict between Colophon and Notion has been implied by Aristotle in his use of the two settlements as an example of strife caused by the geography of a place not being suitable for a single settlement (*Politics* 5.1303b). However, when read closely this passage does not actually imply that Colophon and Notion were politically distinct. The other examples Aristotle gives to illustrate his point are Clazomenae (where the dwellers on the shore are geographically separated from those living on the island) and Athens (where the citizens living in Piraeus are geographically separate from those living in the main city). If anything, therefore, this passage seems to suggest that the relationship between Notion and Colophon was comparable to that of Athens and Piraeus, or the two neighbourhoods of Clazomenae. In general, then, Notion does seem to have been viewed as the port of Colophon: Theopompus of Chios described it merely as a 'place' (χωρίον) in Colophon (*FGrHist* 115 F118), while Thucydides referred to it simply as 'Notion of the Colophonians' (Thuc 3.34).²⁵

Despite the problematic nature of the literary evidence for this argument, the issue has been revisited in the light of new archaeological discoveries at Claros. A Sacred Way of the seventh century, which led from Claros to Notion, has been discovered, leading some commentators to suggest a privileged relationship between the port and the sanctuary.²⁶ However, such a relationship between Claros and Notion does not preclude one between Claros and Colophon, especially given that both sanctuary and port belonged to Colophon for most of antiquity. Indeed, epigraphic evidence indicates that the Sacred Way linked all three sites in the later period, providing a route between the main city of Colophon, its port and its main

²³ See Gauthier 2003 for a discussion.

²⁴ On balance, the current consensus is that Notion and Colophon formed one integrated polis. See Rubinstein in *IACP* 848 and 825.

²⁵ Notion eventually outlived Colophon, but only at the cost of its name and identity. After Lysimachus destroyed Colophon in the third century BC, Notion absorbed so many of the refugees that it became known as New Colophon and its old name went slowly out of use.

²⁶ The road was paved and runs partly under the fifth-century Sacred Way, and has been dated by ceramics to the seventh century. See Şahin et al. 2011: 291–2 for the Orientalising ceramics.

sanctuary.²⁷ It is possible, then, that the seventh-century processional road followed the same route. This would be unsurprising given that similar routes at other *poleis* often pass by subsidiary stopping points, where processions for major festivals would stop to conduct rites.²⁸ Even if we posit that Claros was indeed more closely linked to Notion than to Colophon in the seventh century, this was certainly not the case in the sixth. By this time, it is evident that Claros had definitely become integrated within Colophon's territory, and was an important part of civic life.

If the myth of Manto had been a politically motivated story aimed at justifying Notion's control over Claros, then we would expect the story to fall out of favour once the sanctuary was firmly under Colophonian control. Instead, the popularity and longevity of the Manto story suggests that it had some significance for Colophon itself. This is especially true given that alternative myths of Colophon's foundation were available. See the main text below for details. Given that Notion was probably only independent for a very short time, if at all, such a brief interlude cannot account for the widespread popularity and longevity of the story. Therefore, neither of these interpretations is sufficient to account fully for the Manto story. Instead, I would argue that while Manto may have had an important role as the founder of Claros, she was also considered to be the founder of Colophon.

As already discussed, the connection between a polis and its main civic cults was very close – it is usual to associate these cults with civic identity, and to assume that a city and its main sanctuaries had the same founder. Colophon and Claros were no exception to this rule, and the numismatic and epigraphic evidence for a close relationship between them has already been discussed. Furthermore, returning to the foundation myths themselves, it should be noted that most of the texts that mention Manto's story explicitly write about Colophon and Claros as if the two are interchangeable. In the passage from the *Epigonoí*, it is explicitly stated that Manto arrives at Colophon (ἐλθοῦσα εἰς Κολοφῶνα). This is then followed by the statement that the place is named Claros after her tears (διόπερ ὠνομάσθη Κλάρος). No further movement is implied – Manto sits down where she lands (at Colophon) to cry, and it is this location that becomes known as Claros. In the *Epigonoí*, Colophon is simply the territory where Claros is located. The citation of Theopompus leads us to the same conclusion. Here, Theopompus explicitly states that Manto was made to settle

²⁷ IACP 848 and 858.

²⁸ For example, see Herda 2006b for a detailed discussion of the New Year procession from Miletus to Didyma, as set out in the Molpoi inscription.

at Claros, but it is also explicitly stated that Claros is a place in Colophon (Κλάρων τόπος Κολοφώνος). It is true that in the texts that discuss the contest between Calchas and Mopsus, the duel is often located at Claros (e.g. the *Melampodia* and Callinus). However, we cannot be sure about this in all cases (e.g. Pherecydes), and in other texts Calchas is specifically said to have gone to Colophon. For example, as far as we can tell, the *Nostoi* states that Calchas and his companions went overland to Colophon to bury Teiresias (πορευθέντες εἰς Κολοφῶνα Τειρεσίαν ἐνταῦθα τελευτήσαντα θάπτουσι). There therefore seems to be a high degree of equivalence between Colophon and Claros when it comes to the Manto story. This seems to have been the case by the classical period at the very latest, and by the Roman period all possible distinction had been lost. Indeed, when Tacitus describes Germanicus' visit to the oracle of Claros, he specifies a visit to Colophon, rather than naming Claros per se (*Annals* 2.54).

It is telling that even those scholars who argue that Manto founded only Claros nonetheless include the story of Manto in their discussions of Colophonian foundation myths.²⁹ The relationship between a city and its main extramural sanctuary was important, and whatever your stance on the mythical equivalence between Claros and Colophon, the connection between the two is unavoidable. Even if city and sanctuary are to be considered separately, the myth of Manto still colours our understanding and perception of Colophon as a polis. The nature, history and identity of Claros necessarily reflect on the nature, history and identity of Colophon. This is true even if Claros was not under Colophonian control in the seventh century and earlier. From the sixth century onwards, Colophon and Claros were closely connected and widely considered as part of a unified polis. The Manto story was both popular and widely repeated for many centuries, during which time the sanctuary was undoubtedly integrated within the Colophonian polis. If a myth was told about the foundation of Claros during the sixth, fifth or fourth century (or indeed later in antiquity), it must necessarily have had some implications for Colophon.

Manto's role as the female *oikist* of Colophon must therefore have been in some way meaningful. She transgressed the prevailing gender norms in wider society, and it radically rewrote the standard pattern for foundation myths. The only other woman who might be considered to be a female *oikist* is Medea, who is said by some authors to have given her name to the Medes.³⁰

²⁹ E.g. Prinz 1979; Sakellariou 1958.

³⁰ Herodotus 7.62 says that the Medes changed their name after Medea arrived amongst them during her flight from Athens. However, other authors posit that the eponymous hero of the

However, Medea's role as an eponymous heroine of the Medes is not completely comparable with that of Manto, as the Medes are a non-Greek nomadic people while Colophon was a Greek polis. Medea was a particularly problematic female character. But even she cannot challenge Manto's position as the only female *oikist* of a Greek city. Manto was unique.

Manto and Mimnermus

Manto's was not the only foundation myth in circulation for Colophon. However, hers does seem to have been the most popular, despite the fact that she was an ambiguous and potentially problematic figure, or perhaps even because of it. Perhaps the best example of this is the fragment detailing Manto's own story from the *Epigoni*, an epic poem about the war of the Seven against Thebes (F3 (GEF); for the text see p. 103 above). The date of this poem is uncertain, although the standard attribution is to the epic poet Antimachus of Teos, who is thought to have lived in the eighth century. If this is correct, the story of Manto is therefore an extremely old one, and a full and detailed account of her adventures would have been available to all later authors.³¹ In the relevant fragment, the focus is very much on the figure of Manto herself and her actions as an *oikist*. It is she who receives the oracle at Delphi, it is she who sets out for and finds Colophon, and it is she who establishes and names the temple at Claros. Antimachus casts Manto in a starring role: her actions eclipse those of her father, her husband and her son. Indeed, we cannot even be sure from this fragment whether Teiresias accompanied Manto to Delphi and Colophon at all – it is she in the singular who is described as doing the travelling. There is an explicit interest, it seems, in maximising the role of the leading lady. By doing this, the poem must have raised issues of gender stereotypes, calling them into question by inverting them so conspicuously. The past of Colophon was cast in terms of female power and agency, as well as oracles and mysticism.

But it was not only Antimachus who portrayed Colophon in this way. In the fifth century, the mythographer and grammarian Pherecydes also seems

Medes was not Medea but her son, Medeus (Hesiod, *Theogony* 1000–2; Paus 2.3.8). For a discussion of Medea as a foundation heroine, see Krevans 1997.

³¹ For Antimachus of Teos, see Huxley 1966: 41. The argument has been made that some fragments attributed to Antimachus of Teos and the *Epigoni* may actually have been from the *Thebaid*, an epic written in the late fifth or early fourth century by Antimachus of Colophon. For Antimachus of Colophon (sometimes known as Antimachus of Claros) see Matthews 1996. On balance, and taking into account linguistic and stylistic arguments, it seems more likely that this particular fragment was indeed from the *Epigoni* of Antimachus of Teos, and not the *Thebaid*.

to have represented Colophon as a place where gender roles and sexuality did not follow established norms. Again, only a fragment of Pherecydes' original text is preserved, describing not Manto's part of the story but rather the duel between Mopsus and Calchas (*FGrHist*3 F142; for the text see p. 105 above). In Pherecydes' version of the duel, the question the seers vie to answer concerns the number and sex of the piglets being carried by a pregnant sow. Although this fragment of Pherecydes focuses on Mopsus rather than Manto, it nonetheless still brings up issues of gender and sex. The past of Colophon connected to female creativity, cast here as the fertility of the sow instead of the founding works of Manto. The imagery of birth parallels that of civic foundation – both involve the bringing forth of new forms of life, and both are represented as female acts. The choice of the pig as the animal for this oracular inquiry can be no coincidence. In the ancient Greek world, pigs were widely associated with female cult activity and women's generative powers. For example, pigs were sacrificed at the Thesmophoria in Athens, a festival reserved for citizen wives and linked to fertility and agricultural productivity.³² In the Kalligeneia, the central rite of the festival, piglets were thrown into a chasm in the ground as sacrifices. In addition, the word for 'piglet' in Greek was also a slang word for female genitalia.³³ A similar impression is gained from the other version of this story, told by Hesiod in the *Melampodia* (F278 M-W; for the text see pp. 104–5 above).³⁴ Hesiod initially seems to opt for a much tamer oracular question than that of Pherecydes, concerning the number of fruits on a wild fig tree. However, words meaning 'fig', like those associated with pigs and piglets, were also used as slang for the female sexual organs.³⁵ In both the works of Pherecydes and Hesiod, the Mopsus–Calchas story was therefore charged with female sexual symbolism and shot through with references to female fertility and generative powers.

These passages from the *Epigonoi*, Pherecydes and Hesiod seem to celebrate the issues that are raised by having a female *oikist*. The activities of first Manto and then Mopsus are framed in such a way as to highlight the issue of transgressive gender roles. But the third member of this prophetic

³² Detienne and Vernant 1989: 133–5; Clinton 1996 and 2005.

³³ Henderson 1991: 131–2. The word used in Pherecydes is χοῖρος. Aristophanes puns on this in several places: see *Archanians* 781ff.; *Eccleziastusae* 724; *Plutus* 308; *Thesmophoriazusae* 289, 369 and 538; *Wasps* 353 and 1364. Puns on other pig words are also used in *Lysistrata* 1061, *Thesmophoriazusae* 237 and *Archanians* 786.

³⁴ The *Melampodia* was an epic poem about the seer Melampus, most likely including genealogical information as well as a celebration of Melampus' skill and achievements. The appearance of Mopsus, Manto and Teiresias in this poem is perhaps unsurprising, given its theme.

³⁵ Henderson 1991: 134–5. The particular word used in the *Melampodia* is ἐπινειδός.

dynasty, Teiresias, contributes to this. Indeed, the very figure of Teiresias adds to the general atmosphere of sexual ambiguity. Teiresias was not only known for his abilities as a seer, but also for his experiences living as both a man and a woman. The transgender prophet was a particularly suitable patriarch for the ruling line of Colophon. His story is told succinctly by Hesiod, in the same poem as he narrated the duel between Mopsus and Calchas (*Melampodia* F275 M-W).³⁶

Indeed, there is only one text from the archaic and classical periods that seems to tell the story about the Mantid dynasty at Colophon without highlighting the issue of transgressive gendering. This is the epic poem the *Nostoi*, supposedly composed by Agias of Troezen. The actual text of this passage is not preserved, but a summary of the poem was written by the grammarian Proclus in his *Chrestomathy* in the second century AD (for the text see p. 106 above). According to the Proclus' summary, the *Nostoi* described how Calchas left Troy after the fall of the city with his companions Leontes and Polypoetes and travelled overland to Colophon, where he and his companions buried Teiresias who had died there. No mention is made of either Manto or Mopsus, although it is not clear whether this omission was a feature of Agias' original text or rather of Proclus' brief summary.³⁷ It seems from the summary that the focus of the original text was Teiresias, and Calchas' pious action in burying him. The fact that Calchas is said to have buried Teiresias is in itself strange. It implies that Teiresias' own family either had not taken responsibility for his burial or were not present to do so. The task was therefore left to the wandering Calchas, who dutifully assumes the role of the heir. Teiresias' own descendants Manto and Mopsus seem to have been effectively written out of the story. The connection between Colophon and the Mantid family was well known at the time of Agias, and so it is highly unlikely that Agias would have excluded the Mantids simply from ignorance. It might be possible that Agias deliberately chose to exclude Manto from his story, choosing instead to focus on Teiresias and Calchas.³⁸ This is of course

³⁶ This passage can also be found as F3 of the *Melampodia* in the Loeb volume of Hesiodic fragments, translated by H. G. Evelyn-White (1922).

³⁷ There is some confusion over the attribution of the *Nostoi*, and it certainly seems that several poems were written under this name, all discussing the fates of the Achaean heroes after the end of the Trojan War. Stesichorus wrote a poem called *Nostoi* on this theme, and Antimachus of Colophon and Eumelus of Corinth may also have written works with the same title and topic. However, the particular poem summarised by Proclus here does seem to be that of Agias of Troezen, as Proclus explicitly states this in his introduction to the summary. Pausanias 1.2.1 also mentions Agias' *Nostoi*.

³⁸ Manto is sometimes written out of the story by commentators even today. Lane Fox, for example, writes a whole chapter on Mopsus but does not consider Manto important enough to name, referring to her only as 'a daughter of the seer Teiresias' (2008: 225).

possible, but there is no obvious reason why he would have done so. Instead, it seems much more plausible that when Proclus came to compose his short summary of Agias' much longer text, he simply neglected to include Agias' comments on Manto. Whether this may have been a deliberate choice on Proclus' part or simply the result of editing and oversight, this can tell us nothing about the archaic or classical view of the Manto story. It has also been suggested that this passage should be emended to say 'Calchas' instead of 'Teiresias', and that the person whom the wandering Achaeans buried at Colophon was not the Theban prophet but rather their own comrade after his ill-fated duel with Mopsus.³⁹ Overall, therefore, the absence of Manto in this short reference to the *Nostoi* cannot be taken as evidence for a deviation from the general rule of Mantids and transgressive gendering in Colophon's foundation myths.

There is one text that does present a radically different perspective of Colophon's foundation. This is the only surviving story of the city's origin that we know was written by an actual Colophonian, the elegiac poet Mimnermus.⁴⁰ Writing in the seventh century, Mimnermus made a reference to the first settlement of the site, speaking about the Colophonians with the first-person plural 'we':

ἡμεῖς δηῦτε Πύλον Νηλήιον ἄστου λιπόντες
 ἱμερτὴν Ἀσίην νηυσὶν ἀφικόμεθα·
 ἐς δ' ἔρατὴν Κολοφῶνα βίην ὑπέροπλον ἔχοντες
 ἐζόμεθ' ἀργαλέης ὕβριος ἡγεμόνες.

And so leaving Pylos, Nēleus' city, we arrived at longed-for [ἱμερτὴν] Asia with ships. And using over-aggressive force [βίην ὑπέροπλον] we settled ourselves in lovely [ἔρατὴν] Colophon, instigators of painful hubris [ὕβριος]. (Mimnermus F9 (IEG))

There is no mention here of Teiresias or Manto, Mopsus or Calchas. There is no Delphic oracle, no connection to the Theban cycle, and no sense of the oracular power of Claros. Instead, Mimnermus simply states that Colophon

³⁹ See the accompanying note on this passage in *GEF*.

⁴⁰ We do know of other prominent Colophonians at the time who did write about their city's history. However, almost all of these works have been completely lost. In the sixth century, the philosopher Xenophanes was said to have written a *Kolophoniaka*, although sadly nothing of his text survives. In addition, Erxias wrote a *Kolophoniakois*, although nothing has remained save one short statement about the dedication of a gymnasium to Eros on Samos (*FGrHist* 449 F1). The relationship between Samos and Colophon in his work is unclear. Heropythos is also said to have written a *Horois Kolophonion*, although we cannot be completely sure whether he was a Colophonian. Plutarch (*Cimon* 9.4) suggests that he was actually from Samos, and other texts suggest he was from Ephesus. Stronk considers the Ephesian connections of Heropythos unlikely (2011).

was founded by settlers from Pylos amidst fierce violence, and that the original settlers continued their violent ways, waging war on nearby Smyrna. This vision of Colophon's origins – Pylian, violent and secular – stands out as markedly different from the stories connected to the Mantids. It is unclear how to interpret the existence of this alternative foundation myth, and the radically different account it offers. Perhaps there was a section of Colophonian society that sought to promote an aggressively macho view of their own past, countering the feminine mysticism of the dominant account. Perhaps Mimnermus was engaging in a similar strategy to that of Herodotus discussed in [Chapter 4](#), using a violent narrative to highlight the mixed nature of the city. Certainly, Mimnermus' description of the violence suggests disapproval and places the blame squarely on the arriving migrants. With force and hubris, they attack Colophon in order to satisfy their desire for the land.

However this fragment is to be understood, Mimnermus' story of unbridled macho aggression was less popular than that of Manto and her prophetic tears. Mimnermus' account is preserved for us by Strabo, but apart from this single citation, I know of no other authors who chose to take up the story. In comparison, the story of Manto was more popular, and was repeated by a wider range of different authors. In addition to the texts from the archaic and classical periods, later works picked up on the activities of the Mantid dynasty. These included Pausanias (7.3.2–3 and 9.33.2), Konon (*FGrHist* 26 F1.4), Apollodorus (*Bibliotheca* E.6.2–4), Pomponius Mela (1.78) and, of course, Strabo (14.1.27 and 14.4.3). When compared to the tale of Manto, Mimnermus' story seems to have had limited appeal and to have generated relatively few followers. Mimnermus seems to have been swimming against the Colophonian tide.

Given the economic and social importance of Claros to Colophon, it is understandable why a more mystic version of the city's origins might have been preferable to the raw violence of Mimnermus' account. For a major oracular centre which aimed to attract an international crowd of visitors, the benefits of a Mantid origin are obvious: the oracular order from Delphi, the *oikist* with prophecy in her blood, the connection to Calchas, the link with the two great wars of the heroic age – the Theban and the Trojan. However, in addition to this, the story's flexibility in gender roles would also have sat well in contemporary Colophonian society. Preferring Manto was a deliberate choice, a choice which tells us something about Colophonian attitudes to men and women, and which reflects through this on Colophonian ideas about polar oppositions more generally.

Colophon: the city of useless luxuries

Alone of the Ionian cities, Colophon was founded as an inland rather than a coastal settlement.⁴¹ Today it lies cocooned in the rolling hills near the modern village of Değirmendere and sheltered by the densely forested peaks. The route to the sea follows the course of the Ales river valley, running south some thirteen kilometres to the temple of Apollo at Claros and the ancient shoreline.⁴² North of Colophon, the valley widens at Bulgurca to become a broad plain, and twenty kilometres north from here again lies the sprawling modern city of Izmir, the ancient Smyrna. Colophon was therefore a good distance from the sea in any direction. This is significant considering the strongly maritime focus of the other Ionian cities. Colophon's land-locked location meant that it had a different relationship with its hinterland from the other cities, positioned as it was on a prominent spur of a mountain, overlooking fertile fields stretching in all directions (Figures 8 and 10). This inland location also affected the way Colophon interacted with other cities and states around it. It has been noted that the sea was a connecting rather than a dividing feature in Ionia, serving to enable travel and communication rather than to hamper it.⁴³ At roughly a three-hour walk from the coast, Colophon would not easily have been integrated into these networks of seaborne movement. It is perhaps significant that Colophon's greatest military strength lay not in its navy, as was common for Ionian cities, but rather in its cavalry.⁴⁴ By the time Strabo wrote in the first century BC, the cavalry of Colophon was so well respected that it had become proverbial for forcing a speedy solution to a conflict (Strabo 14.1.28).

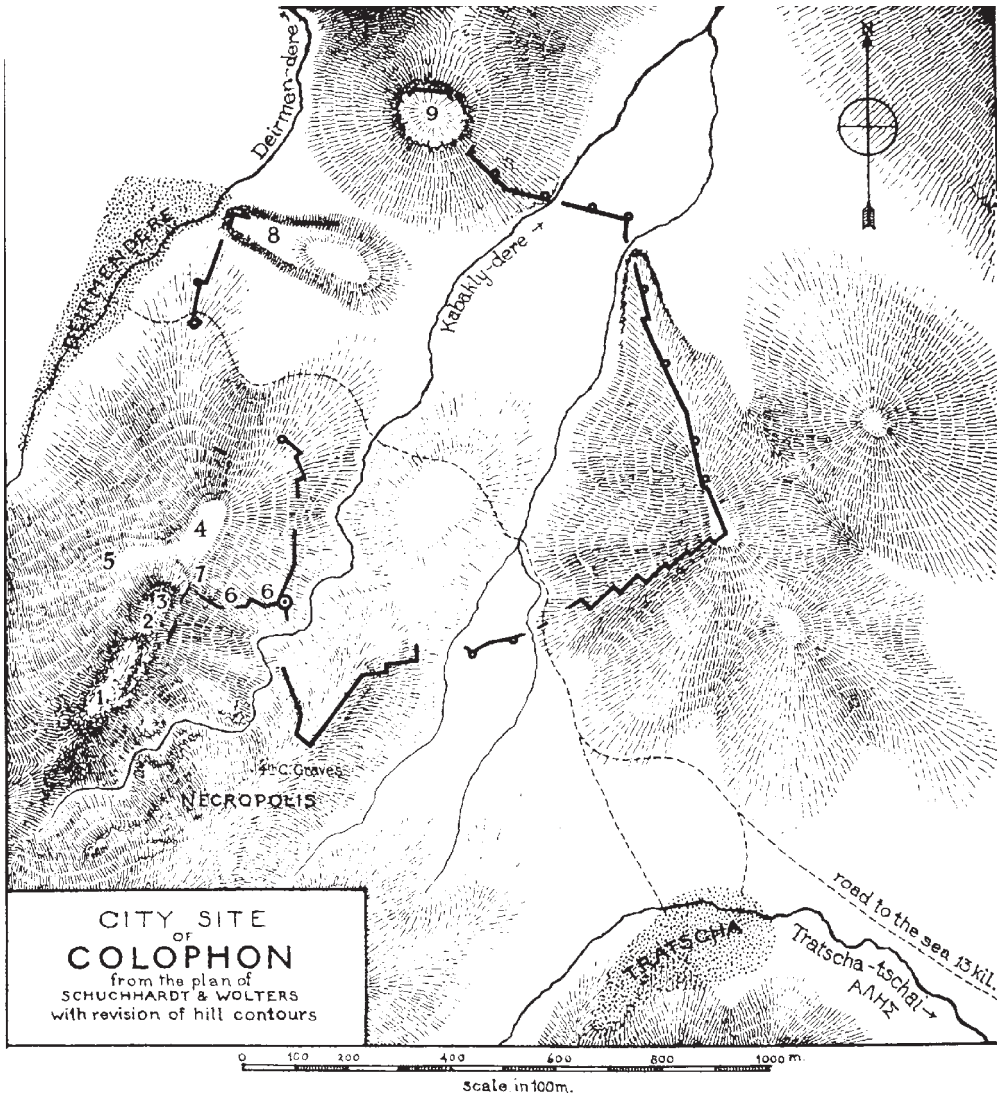
Colophon was unusual, not just for its unique inland location, but also for its prosperity. The fabulous wealth of its inhabitants was proverbial. Aristotle commented that before the city was captured by the Lydian king

⁴¹ Although many of the Ionian cities are now located at some distance from the modern coastline, due to the silting up of river mouths on the Maeander and the Cayster.

⁴² The modern shoreline is perhaps an additional kilometre or so south from Claros.

⁴³ See Chapter 3.

⁴⁴ Colophon's coinage features images of horse and horsemen, an official civic acknowledgement of its reputation for cavalry. See Milne 1941: 20. In addition, figurines of horsemen were dedicated at Claros, indicating the importance of horses and the cavalry on an unofficial level to Colophonian individuals as well (de la Genière 1992: 51ff.). The prominence of the cavalry is significant because in military matters Colophon seems to have had more in common with the land power of Lydia than the maritime powers of the other Ionian cities. Herodotus (1.27) tells the story of Bias of Priene showing the Lydian king Croesus the folly of attacking the Ionians by sea by comparing the plan to the idea of the Ionians attacking the Lydians with cavalry.



8. Plan of the city of Colophon.

Key for Figure 8

- 1: High acropolis outcrop
- 2: Saddle in the acropolis peak
- 3: Second area of high acropolis outcrop
- 4: Terrace – main urban area on the acropolis hill
- 5: Side extension of main terraced area
- 6: City walls descending the acropolis hill to the Kabaklıdere stream
- 7: Slopes of the acropolis hill
- 8: Low hill within the city walls
- 9: Hill at the northern apex of city walls

Gyges in the early seventh century, the majority of Colophon's citizens owned large tracts of fertile land and were therefore extremely rich (Aristotle, *Politics* 4.1290b). However, this wealth does not seem to have diminished much even after the wars with Lydia, and the Colophonian philosopher-poet Xenophanes criticised his fellow citizens in the sixth century for their ostentatious and luxurious lifestyles – bad habits, he grumbles, which the Colophonians had learned from the Lydians.

ἀβροσύνας δὲ μαθόντες ἀνωφελέας παρὰ Λυδῶν,
 ὄφρα τυραννίης ἦσαν ἄνευ στυγερῆς,
 ἦσαν εἰς ἀγορὴν παναλουργέα φάρε' ἔχοντες
 οὐ μείους ὥσπερ χίλιοι εἰς ἐπίπαν.
 αὐχάλῃοι χαιτήσιν ἀγαλμένοι εὐπρέπῃεσσιν
 ἀσκητοῖς <τ'> ὁδμήν χρῆμασι δεύομενοι

Having learned useless luxuries from the Lydians,
 As long as they were free from hateful tyranny
 They would go into the agora wearing robes all of purple,
 Not less than a thousand in all,
 Boastful, glorying in their beautiful long-flowing hair,
 Drenched in the scent of carefully-perfumed oils. (Xenophanes F6 (Graham))

This fragment of Xenophanes seems to echo the wider emerging orthodoxy in Greece surrounding gender and ethnic stereotypes. The Colophonians, he seems to complain, have started to imitate the soft, effeminate and luxury-loving Lydians. The Lydians here appear as the caricatured womanish Barbarians that the new stereotypes were just beginning to promote – decked in expensive purple robes, glorying in their silky long hair, and exuding the sweet fragrance of fine perfumes. But this fragment does more than illustrate the new ideas that were beginning to circulate about effeminate Easterners. While Xenophanes clearly disapproved of what he saw as 'useless luxuries', it is apparent from his own testimony that not all of his fellow citizens felt the same way. For many of them, the Lydian trappings of wealth and fine living must have been acceptable and even desirable. Xenophanes bemoans the popularity of these practices; 'not less than a thousand in all', he complains. If we believe Xenophanes, it seems that there were many people in sixth-century Colophon who had no problem embracing modes of dress and personal grooming that others might associate with effeminate Barbarians. Indeed, a range of other evidence also suggests that Colophonians were relatively receptive to Lydian cultural influences.

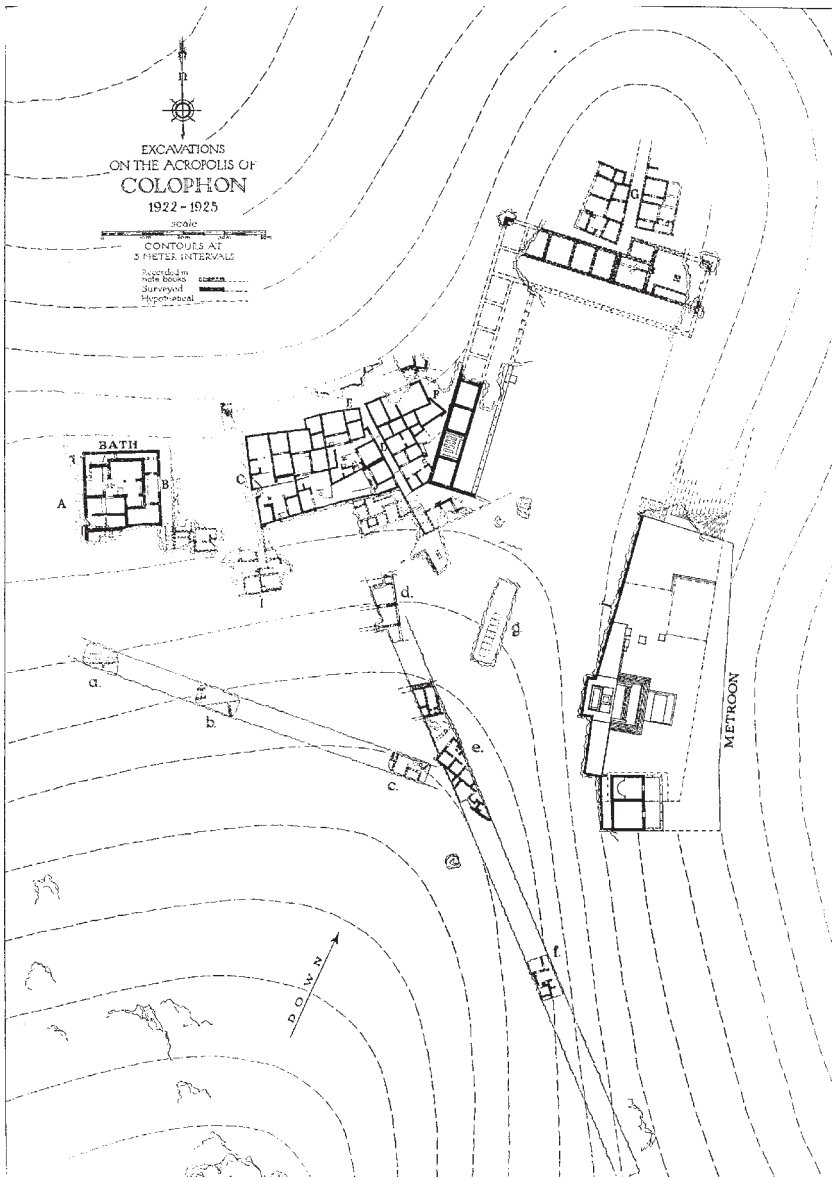
Archaeological evidence from both the city and the sanctuary of Claros clearly points to interaction between Colophon and its larger eastern

neighbour, and suggests that Colophonians were happy to integrate Lydian objects, styles and practices into their own lives.⁴⁵ On the terrace of the upper city, sherds of Lydian marble-ware pottery have been found under the level of the fourth-century houses.⁴⁶ This terrace seems to have been part of the main civic centre (see area 4 on [Figure 8](#) for the location of the terrace). It had a commanding view over the lower city and surrounding countryside, and was included within the acropolis fortification wall in addition to the main fortification wall that surrounded the whole settlement including the lower city. On the terrace was a stoa marking the side of the agora, a sanctuary of Cybele, and several large multi-roomed houses (see [Figure 9](#) for a plan of the terrace, [Figure 10](#) for a panoramic view over the terrace, and [Figure 11](#) for one of the streets between the houses). The presence of this characteristically Lydian style of ceramics in what would have been a central and prominent part of the city is in itself significant. This suggests that Lydian styles of material culture and imported objects were both used and accepted in the heart of Colophon in the fifth and sixth centuries BC.

Lydian influence is evident not just in material culture, but possibly also in some social practices at Colophon. Long after our period of study, in the second century AD, the travel writer Pausanias noted that the Colophonians were unusual amongst Greeks because they practised the ritual of puppy sacrifice (Paus 3.14.9). The practice of sacrificing puppies to a chthonic deity is best known at the Lydian capital, Sardis, although some evidence of the practice is now beginning to emerge at Dorylaion (modern Şarhöyük). At Sardis, several ritual deposits from the archaic period have been found, each comprising a standardised 'ritual kit'. Each deposit includes the skeleton of a puppy, an iron knife, and the same recurring set of ceramic vessels: a skyphos, a round-mouthed jug with a vertical handle, a trefoil oinochoe,

⁴⁵ The information presented here mostly derives from the excavations undertaken in the summer of 1922 by a joint team from the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (ASCSA) and the Fogg Art Museum in Harvard, led by Hetty Goldman. Most of the excavated finds were lost in the chaos of the concluding phases of the Graeco-Turkish War in August 1922. While some results of the excavations were later published (Meritt 1935; Holland 1944; Bridges 1974), much of the information can only be accessed in the excavations archive, held by ASCSA (various excavation notebooks from this archive are cited in the following notes). For discussion of the archive material and the Colophon project in its contemporary political setting, see Davis 2000 and 2003. Information concerning the burials is currently in the process of being published by Olivier Mariaud (Mariaud 2010). New archaeological investigations are currently under way at the site, led by the University of Vienna and the Mimar Sinan University Istanbul. See Bruns-Özgan et al. 2011 and 2012 for initial results.

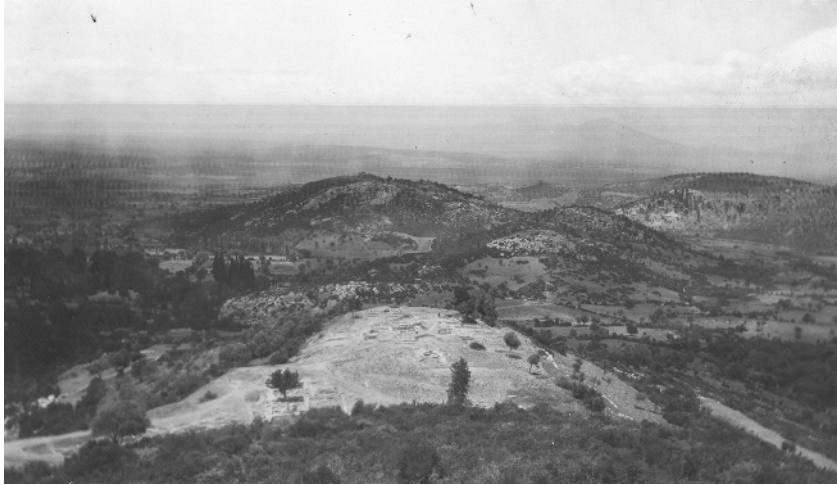
⁴⁶ Marbled ware was found in two deep soundings in the area of the later fourth-century House 11 (Goldman, Colophon Notebook 1922, 13 and 21) and also House v1 (Meritt, Colophon Notebook 1922, 39).



9. Plan of the excavated areas on the Upper Terrace of Colophon.

and a plate.⁴⁷ These ‘puppy dinners’, as they have come to be known, are a distinctive and unusual form of ritual activity. If Pausanias’ comments

⁴⁷ For a detailed discussion of what has come to be known as the ‘Lydian puppy dinners’, see Greenewalt 1978. Pedley (1974) has suggested that these ritual deposits should perhaps be associated with Carians living at Sardis rather than local Lydians. His argument, however, is based only on the presence of several pieces of Carian graffiti found in the same general area as



10. The Upper Terrace of Colophon, as seen from the acropolis.

reflected not only practice in his own time but a long-standing tradition, it is just possible that the Colophonians adopted not just objects and styles from the Lydians, but some cult practices as well.

It is even possible that some prominent Colophonian families were themselves partly Lydian, or at least tried to claim that they were Lydian. Several inscriptions from the first and second centuries AD from Claros list the names of the *thespiodes*, a hereditary priesthood that was handed down through the generations of one aristocratic family. *Thespiodes* wielded considerable authority, as they composed the poetic verses in which oracular responses were given, rendering the divine communications in appropriate form for interpretation. The *thespiodes* at Claros seem to have come from a family that traced its ancestry back to Ardys, the Lydian king who reigned at the start of the eighth century. Their names are often followed by the epithet τῶν ἀπὸ Ἀρδούς Ἡρακλειδῶν, πατρογενίδου ('of the line of the Heraklids, from Ardys the *patrogenides*').⁴⁸ Ardys of the Heraclid dynasty of Lydia was not only a prominent member of the family tree, he was the father of that tree – the *patrogenides*. As this inscription is considerably later in date than the period under consideration here, we cannot be sure whether

the puppy dinners, and I do not think we can ascribe ethnic ownership of the ritual from this evidence. In addition, two extremely similar puppy dinner deposits have recently been found at Dorylaion (modern Şarhöyük), in an area more often considered to be 'Phrygian' than 'Lydian' (Sivas 2013).

⁴⁸ For the inscriptions, see Macridy 1905: 170; Bilabel 1920: 204; Picard 1922: 208–12; Robert and Robert 1954: p. 117 no. 28 line 1, no. 30 line 4, p. 204 no. 133 line 4, p. 205 no. 135 line 5, p. 212, p. 381.



11. View down an excavated street on the Upper Terrace of Colophon.

similar claims to Lydian ancestry were made by Claros' priests in the archaic and classical periods. However, the conservative nature of religious practice in general, and the hereditary nature of this priesthood in particular, suggest that these claims of Lydian descent were unlikely to be new. Colophon was the kind of place where it was deemed acceptable and appropriate to have the city's highest religious offices occupied by people who claimed to be of Lydian origin.⁴⁹ Given the pride with which the *thespiodes* asserted their connection to Ardys, it may even have been more than acceptable to be Lydian – it may have been desirable. It seems, therefore, that the people of Colophon do not seem to have objected to close engagement with their Barbarian Lydian neighbours. Indeed, the purple-wearing city potentates of Colophon may even have actively sought connections with Lydian nobility. Therefore, while the philosopher Xenophanes may well have played on the stereotype of the luxury-loving Oriental in writing his social critiques, this view of the Lydians was not dominant at Colophon.

It was not just the Lydians who were viewed positively. Colophon's interaction with the Persians also suggests that the city did not buy into the rhetoric of 'Greeks versus Barbarians'. It has been noted that Colophon's coins in the sixth and fifth centuries bear more resemblance to Persian than

⁴⁹ It is perhaps significant here that the name Ardys is only attested at Sardis and Colophon, according to the *LGPN*.

to other Greek currencies, and also that their denominations were highly unusual. Colophon struck its coins in unusually large denominations, making the Colophonian stater exchangeable with both the Ionian drachma and the Persian siglos.⁵⁰ This ambiguity in Colophon's coinage would have enabled the city to trade more easily with the Persian Empire, as well as with its Greek neighbours. In addition to being pro-Persian in their economic outlook, it seems that some individuals within the city were openly pro-Persian in their politics as well. By the mid-fifth century, Colophon had been incorporated into the Delian League and was under the imperial influence of Athens. Colophon rebelled from Athens twice – once in 447/6 BC and again in 427 BC.⁵¹ The keenness of Colophon to break away from Athens is notable in itself, but the second of the revolts betrays something of Colophon's relationship with the Achaemenids. A pro-Persian faction within the city rebelled against Athenian power and invited a Persian military commander, Itamenes, into the city instead (Thuc 3.34). Although this rebellion was short-lived and Colophon eventually went back to being an Athenian ally (Xen., *Hellenica* 1.2.4), it is nonetheless significant that there were those in the city who preferred Persian domination to Athenian.

Despite the anti-Barbarian rhetoric of the classical period, therefore, Colophonians do not seem to have seen a strict divide between themselves and the non-Greeks around them. Instead, they continued to engage closely with their non-Greek neighbours just as they had always done – politically, economically and socially. Foreign objects, styles, social practices and people all seem to have been an accepted part of life in Colophon. Any negative connotations surrounding the Barbarian do not seem to have made much impact on the lived realities of the city and its citizens. So when Xenophanes railed against foreign influences, he was swimming against the tide.

Xenophanes was not only complaining about foreign influences, however; he was complaining about foreign influences that had made the Colophonians luxury-loving and soft: the fancy purple robes, the girlish long hair, the sickly sweet perfume. The effeminacy and weakness implied by these traits was eventually to become a central part of the Oriental Barbarian stereotype, although this had yet to take hold at the time Xenophanes was writing. But just as the Colophonians seem to have rejected the Greek–Barbarian antithesis more generally, they also seem to have rejected the idea of femininity necessarily bearing negative associations. To be a woman in Colophon did not necessarily mean being as weak, soft and feeble as it did in some other Greek cities.

⁵⁰ Milne 1941: 31. ⁵¹ McGregor 1987: 82–3.

In the sphere of civic religion and cult, it seems that the feminine had an extremely important role to play. Whilst the oracle at Claros might have been sacred to Apollo, the sanctuary was also sacred to Artemis. In addition, most of the evidence we have for religious activity at the site of Colophon relates to female rather than male cults. On the terrace of Colophon's upper city, the remains of only one major temple have been found for the classical period – that of a sanctuary of Cybele (marked as the 'Metroon' on [Figure 9](#)). Cybele was a mother goddess whose worship originated in Phrygia, and whose Phrygian roots the Greeks acknowledged when they adopted her cult.⁵² The reservation of space in this prominent central area of the city for the sanctuary of a female deity, and especially a female deity of Anatolian origin, is significant. Of course it is possible that there are other cult buildings on the terrace that have not yet been detected, especially given the brevity of the excavations at Colophon. The Cybele sanctuary occupied a dominant place at the very least at the heart of Colophon's civic centre. The temple's location is not the only feature that highlights its importance – the size of the sanctuary is also significant, as it would have dominated one whole side of the terrace. The prominence of Cybele's cult hints that the citizens of Colophon did not have a major aversion to the idea of the feminine non-Greek (and it doesn't get more feminine and non-Greek than a Phrygian mother goddess).

Women also seem to have been particularly active in the worship of Cybele at this sanctuary. It is by no means surprising that they were involved in the cult of a mother goddess, but it is still worth noting that women seem to have played a prominent role in what would have been a major public cult. Large quantities of loomweights were found within the temple precinct, an unexpected discovery that caused the excavators to comment: 'Another surprising feature was the number of loom-weights uncovered as this seems an improbable place for the placement of spinning [*sic*].'⁵³ While we may agree with the excavators that a temple courtyard may indeed be an improbable place for textile working, the presence of these loomweights is perhaps less surprising when we consider that they were most probably votive offerings dedicated by women at the sanctuary. If this is the case, we can infer a high degree of female activity at the temple. This is supported by the terracotta figurines, which seem likely to be images either of worshippers or of the goddess and associated divine figures.⁵⁴ Out of the ninety-nine figurines, it is significant that

⁵² Roller 1999. ⁵³ Capps, Colophon Notebook 1922, p. 6.

⁵⁴ Information about these figurines has not been published, but is available in the 'Figurines' notebook in the Colophon excavation archive in Athens.

the female figurines outnumber the male by a count of fifty-two to twenty-six, with the remaining twenty-one figurines being either of animals or in such a fragmentary state as to make the ascription of sex impossible. Out of these fifty-two female figurines, eleven can be identified as representing either the goddess Cybele or mounted Amazons. This still leaves forty-one probable images of female worshippers, in comparison to twenty-six of men. We should not place too much emphasis on the arguments from the small finds of Colophon, as these were lost during the fighting of 1922 and the information about them contained in the excavation notebooks is patchy at best. But it is significant, nonetheless, that in this material there are hints of strong female participation in what is likely to have been one of the most important cults of the city centre.

Gender distinctions, then, may not have featured as strongly in the public and religious life of Colophon as at some other Greek cities. Although this should not be taken as evidence for sexual equality in any way that we might understand it, it might indicate that women in Colophon perhaps enjoyed a higher status than their counterparts elsewhere. This relatively high status of women seems to have a long history at Colophon, as mortuary remains from the Iron Age and earlier archaic period suggest. During the 1922 excavations of the site, several cemeteries were identified around the area of the settlement.⁵⁵ Four tumuli, each containing multiple burials, have been dated to the Iron Age by their geometric pottery (Mounds I to IV).⁵⁶ In addition to this, two burial areas were located on the foothill slopes that seem to be of a later date (Cemeteries A and B).⁵⁷ None of these burial areas was exhaustively

⁵⁵ The burials data from Colophon was not published by the original excavators, and the only information now available is what was recorded in the excavation notebooks, held by ASCSA (see note 52 above). This material is currently being prepared for publication by Olivier Mariaud (for an initial publication, see Mariaud 2010). The information included here is taken from my own readings of the archived notebooks, and I am grateful also for comments and suggestions from Dr Mariaud.

⁵⁶ Mounds I to IV were excavated by Carl Blegen, and information about these burials can be found in Blegen, *Colophon Notebook 1922*. The burials are also discussed and summarised in Mariaud 2010. The dating of the tumuli is far from firm, and relies on Blegen's descriptions of the pottery. This seems to have been either plain coarseware, or white or pale slipped finewares with painted geometric decoration. It is unlikely that the dating of these graves will ever be more firmly fixed as the original excavated material was lost in 1922. However, the general descriptions of burial practices, grave goods and pottery are consistent with an Iron Age date.

⁵⁷ Cemeteries A and B were excavated by Hetty Goldman, and information on these burials can be found in Goldman, *Colophon Notebook 1922*. The pottery here includes both Orientalising wares (p. 59) and black-glazed pottery (pp. 43 and 57), suggesting a date range in the archaic period. However, some graves in the slope cemeteries may be even later than this. It is simply impossible to tell from the information contained in the notebooks. Only graves that seem to be of archaic date will be specifically discussed in this book.



12. One of the excavated burial tumuli at Colophon, probably Mound II.

explored in the course of the brief 1922 excavations; indeed, two of the tumuli were merely identified and very little work was carried out on them (Figure 12). However, Goldman's team in 1922 did uncover a total of twenty-eight individual burials – ten from the tumuli and eighteen from the slope cemeteries. These burials were never published by the original excavators, and the information available to us about them is restricted to the informal notes recorded in the excavation notebooks. Our knowledge about the graves therefore leaves much to be desired, and there are strict limits on what we can infer about Iron Age and archaic mortuary practice. In addition, it should be recognised that this is a relatively small sample size, and that this also imposes limits on what we can infer about mortuary practice in Colophon more generally. However, these twenty-eight graves do nonetheless suggest some things about social organisation in early Colophon.

For the purposes of this book, what is perhaps most significant is that there does not appear to be a gendered treatment of the bodies. There are no recognisable 'male' or 'female' graves, distinguishable by specific grave goods or bodily treatment. It should be noted that nothing is known about the sex of the bodies, as the brevity of the excavations and the



13. Example of a pithos burial from Colophon, probably Grave C from Mound 11.

standard practices of the time did not allow for skeletal analysis. We therefore cannot be sure whether we do have both men and women represented in our sample. However, it seems highly likely that the sample does include both sexes. Grave goods include objects that are usually considered to be gendered male (such as weapons), and those that are often assumed to have been gendered female (such as spindle whorls). However, mortuary treatment seems to have varied according to age rather than gender. The adults were cremated *in situ* with a standard array of grave goods including fibulae, beads, jewellery and pottery.⁵⁸ The children were buried in large jars or pithoi, surrounded by a similar range of objects (Figure 13).⁵⁹ Aside from pottery, jewellery and especially fibulae were the most common form of grave offering. This might imply that bodily adornment, a trait that we tend to associate with women, was a unisex practice. In addition, it is possible that the richest of the tumulus graves is a female burial. Grave E from Mound 11 is the grave of an adult, who at the time of cremation was wearing no less than ten bronze fibulae and several beads, and was surrounded by food offerings and pottery vessels including a large basin.⁶⁰ The pyre for this

⁵⁸ While gendered identities are not always constructed in the mortuary record, many examples from the Iron Age Aegean have been recorded where gender is indeed a significant factor in mortuary treatment. This may not always be done in relation to the treatment of the body, but is more commonly found in the nature of grave goods.

⁵⁹ Mariaud 2010 summarises the adult burials on pages 689–90, the child burials on pages 690–1, and the grave goods on pages 691–2.

⁶⁰ Blegen, Colophon Notebook 1922, pp. 177–83.

individual seems to have been a substantial construction, judging from the thick layer of ash and charcoal, and from the remains of timber planks between twenty and thirty centimetres thick. Finally, the pyre was enclosed by a stone wall which was preserved up to a height of one metre. The particularly lavish funeral rites accorded to this individual and the conspicuous wealth displayed in the ten fibulae both mark out Grave E as the resting place of someone who was of especially high status. It is perhaps significant that Grave E contained the one object in all the tumulus burials that might be considered to be a gendered object: a spindle whorl. There is a possibility then that the occupant of Grave E was a high-ranking and rich woman, a major figure in Iron Age Colophon.

The lack of distinction between male and female graves is also evident in the slightly later slope cemeteries. The burials from these cemeteries show a greater variety in mortuary practice, with pit and cist graves appearing alongside tile graves. Inhumation now seems to be the norm rather than cremation, and burials in general seem to be poorer and contain fewer grave goods. It is not always possible to reconstruct individual grave assemblages for these graves due to the nature of the surviving excavation records. Those that we can reconstruct, however, also support the idea that gender distinctions were not strongly marked in death. One particular individual was buried both with objects we would typically consider to be 'male' and with objects we would typically consider to be 'female': the person buried in Grave No. 12 from Cemetery B.⁶¹ This grave was described as containing impressive jewellery including a bronze ring made from a coil and a carved agate bead in the shape of a bird. But as well as the jewellery and some plain pottery, the burial also contained a bronze arrowhead.⁶² Evidence from the mortuary remains of early Colophon is limited, and few firm conclusions can be drawn from the material available to us. Nonetheless, it does seem that gender distinctions were not an important factor determining funerary treatment in the Iron Age and archaic period, and that the Colophonians may indeed have had a long tradition of women being accorded high status in the community. Taken together, the mortuary and cult evidence points to a slightly different configuration of gender roles in Colophon from some other places in the Greek world. Associations of the feminine do not seem to have been viewed negatively here.

⁶¹ This grave is most likely to be archaic rather than Iron Age in date. Goldman records that it was found close to the surface of the mound, and remarks that she could not identify the pottery (Goldman, *Colophon Notebook* 1922, p. 73).

⁶² Goldman, *Colophon Notebook* 1922, pp. 73–4.

The city of Colophon during the archaic and classical periods therefore seems to have been a place where the cult of a female Anatolian deity dominated the urban landscape, where gender was not emphasised in death, and where women could take prominent roles in major civic cults. Through its origin myths, the city claimed a past filled with prophets and diviners, strong women and sex changes, sexual ambiguity and flexible gender roles. At this point, it may be tempting to assume that Colophon was a city of proto-feminists whose gender-blind policies were enshrined in its foundation myths. This would be pushing the evidence much too far. However, the evidence does suggest that Colophon was a place where gender roles were not quite the same as they were elsewhere in the Greek world. Colophon certainly does not seem to have subscribed to the same gender ideology as that found in classical Athens, for example. The concepts of activity and passivity, or of power and weakness, do not seem to have mapped so directly on to ideas about masculinity and femininity. To a certain extent, this seems to have been true of Ionia more generally in the sixth century BC. Both monumental sculpture and the decorative arts appear to celebrate an ideal male body that is conspicuously different from the muscled men of classical Athens. Instead, softness of body and luxury of clothing seem to have been desirable, as indicators of wealth and status. Masculinity and femininity were conceived of in different ways on either side of the Aegean.⁶³ The evidence from Colophon suggests that the luxurious masculine ideals of the archaic period may not have been wholly superseded in the classical period.

This has implications for Colophonian views on ethnicity and cultural difference. The oppositional model of cultural difference, so well attested in classical Athens, would have lost much of its force at Colophon. If femininity is not seen as equating to negative characteristics such as passivity and weakness, then the feminisation of the Barbarian does not result in the association of these negative characteristics with Barbarians. And if, as seems to have been the case at Colophon, non-Greek Anatolian culture is not viewed as something ‘foreign’ or ‘other’, then the model of the stereotyped Barbarian in its entirety ceases to be meaningful. If identity is a discourse, then we cannot assume that the terms of reference were necessarily set in classical Athens. The Colophonians, it seems, were playing by their own rules.

It is Xenophanes, the grumpy philosopher–poet, who perhaps leaves us our best surviving example of what seems to be the typical Colophonian viewpoint. When he was not complaining about the ‘useless luxuries’

⁶³ See Baughan 2011 and Kistler 2012 for this argument.

enjoyed by his fellow citizens, Xenophanes wrote philosophical verses discussing, amongst other things, the nature of the divine. One of his central teachings on the subject was that the anthropomorphic gods of myth and poetry did not exist. The reason why the Greeks created gods in this fashion, he argued, was because they were creating the divine in their own image. This, Xenophanes surmised, was completely natural. Each of us understands the divine in terms that we can comprehend, through our own set of cultural expectations and assumptions. Xenophanes' pronouncements on the topic are laid out expressly in two of his surviving fragments:⁶⁴

ἀλλ' εἰ χεῖρας ἔχον βόες ἵπποι τ' ἢ λέοντες
 ἢ γράψαι χεῖρεσσι καὶ ἔργα τελεῖν ἄπερ ἄνδρες,
 ἵπποι μὲν θ' ἵπποι βόες τε βουσὶν ὁμοίας
 καὶ κε θεῶν ἰδέας ἔργαφον καὶ σώματ' ἐποιοῦν
 τοιαῦθ' οἷόν περ αὐτοὶ δέμας εἶχον ἕκαστοι.

But if oxen or horses or lions had hands
 Or could draw with their hands and accomplish such works as men,
 Horses would draw the images of the gods as horses and the oxen as oxen,
 And they would make the bodies
 Of the sort of frame that each of them had. (Xenophanes, f20 Graham)

Αἰθιοπὲς τε θεοὺς σφετέρους σιμοὺς μέλανας τε
 Θρηῆκές τε γλαυκοὺς καὶ πυρροὺς φασὶ πέλεσθαι.

Ethiopians say their gods are snub-nosed and black;
 Thracians that theirs are blue-eyed and red-haired. (Xenophanes, f21 Graham)

According to Xenophanes, everyone sees the cosmos from their own particular perspective. Although he may not have approved of many things at Colophon, it seems that Xenophanes' philosophy was nonetheless influenced by the city in which he lived. His writings reflect an underlying acceptance of cultural differences and plurality. There is no trace here of a stark polarity between East and West, between Us and Them. Despite his literary humbugs, Xenophanes was a Colophonian through and through.

The Amazons of Ephesus

Manto may have been unusual, but even she seems tame in comparison to the founders who appear in one of the traditions surrounding Ephesus. By

⁶⁴ For more on Xenophanes, see Lescher 1992.

the classical period, there seems to have been a tradition that told of the temple of Artemis at Ephesus being founded by Amazons:

οὐ μὴν πάντα γε τὰ ἐς τὴν θεὸν ἐπύθετο ἔμοι δοκεῖν Πίνδαρος, ὃς Ἀμαζόνας τὸ ἱερὸν ἔφη τοῦτο ἰδρύσασθαι στρατευομένης ἐπὶ Ἀθήνας τε καὶ Θησέα. αἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Θερμώδοντος γυναῖκες ἔθυσαν μὲν καὶ τότε τῇ Ἐφεσίᾳ θεῶ, ἅτε ἐπιστάμεναι τε ἐκ παλαιοῦ τὸ ἱερὸν, καὶ ἡνίκα Ἡρακλέα ἔφυγον, αἱ δὲ καὶ Διόνυσον τὰ ἔτι ἀρχαιότερα, ἰκέτιδες ἐνταῦθα ἔλθοῦσαι: οὐ μὴν ὑπὸ Ἀμαζόνων γε ἰδρύθη, Κόρησος δὲ αὐτόχθων καὶ Ἐφεσος – Καῦστρου δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸν Ἐφεσον παῖδα εἶναι νομίζουσιν – οὗτοι τὸ ἱερὸν εἰσιν οἱ ἰδρυσάμενοι, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐφέσου τὸ ὄνομά ἐστι τῇ πόλει. Λέλεγες δὲ τοῦ Καρικοῦ μοῖρα καὶ Λυδῶν τὸ πολὺ οἱ νεμόμενοι τὴν χώραν ἦσαν: ὥκουν δὲ καὶ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἄλλοι τε ἰκεσίας ἔνεκα καὶ γυναῖκες τοῦ Ἀμαζόνων γένους.

It seems to me that Pindar did not indeed learn everything about the goddess, for he says that this sanctuary was established by Amazons when they were fighting against Athens and Theseus. And indeed the women from the Thermodon used to sacrifice to the Ephesian goddess at this time, as they knew the sanctuary from ancient times, and at the time when they fled from Heracles; some of them earlier still when they had fled from Dionysius, having come there as suppliants. However, it was not Amazons who founded it, but the autochthon Koressos and Ephesus (they think Ephesus was a son of the River Cayster) who established the sanctuary, and from Ephesus the city has its name. Those inhabiting the land were partly Leleges, a branch of the Carians, but mostly Lydians. There were others living around the sanctuary for the sake of its protection, and these included some women of the Amazonian people. (Pausanias 7.2.7–8)

Although Pindar's original text does not survive, the basic gist of the story is evident from Pausanias' discussion. In this passage, Pausanias states Pindar's view on the foundation of Ephesus only to refute it, and to argue instead that the sanctuary was founded by an autochthon called Koressos and that Amazons were merely amongst the early worshippers who frequented the sanctuary and lived close to it. However, it is noteworthy that Pindar chose to repeat the Amazonian story in the classical period, rather than the one of Koressos (if indeed this story can be dated back to this period). It is also important that this story does not relate to the city of Ephesus, but instead focuses on the temple of Artemis. This will be discussed in more detail below.

We do not know how widespread this story of an Amazonian foundation for the Artemision may have been – we have only this one attestation of Pindar's telling of the tale. However, Pindar's comments do not seem to have been made in a complete vacuum. The idea of Amazons living in western Anatolia in general seems to have been around for several generations before Pindar wrote. A fragment from the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* described the exploits of Telephus, a legendary king of the Mysians who drove the Amazons out of the area, before doing the same to the Iliadic

Achaean (F101). This story perhaps built on the earlier epic tradition, where Amazons were said to have been allies of the Trojans,⁶⁵ and which made reference to Amazons fighting against Bellerophon and Priam in western Anatolia before the Trojan War (*Iliad* 3.185–9, 6.177–88).⁶⁶ The general tradition of Amazons in this region also seems to have been accompanied by several more specific myths, linking Amazons to individual cities or locations within western Anatolia. Hecataeus, for example, wrote that Amazoneion was an alternative name for the city of Kyme in Aeolia, and that it had once been the original home of the warrior women (*FGrHist* 1 F226).⁶⁷ Pindar's story of Amazons founding the Artemision at Ephesus, then, would have been made within this wider context of early Amazon traditions. Indeed, writing not long after Pindar, the historian Ephorus also connected Ephesus with an Amazonian history:

τοὺς δ' Ἀμαζῶνας μεταξὺ Μυσίας καὶ Καρίας καὶ Λυδίας, καθάπερ Ἐφορος νομίζει, πλησίον Κύμης τῆς πατρίδος αὐτοῦ· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἔχεται τινος λόγου τυχὸν ἴσως· εἴη γὰρ ἂν λέγων τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰολέων καὶ Ἰώνων οἰκισθεῖσαν ὕστερον, πρότερον δ' ὑπὸ Ἀμαζόνων, ὧν καὶ ἑπωνύμους πόλεις τινὰς εἶναι φασί· καὶ γὰρ Ἐφεσον καὶ Σμύρναν καὶ Κύμην καὶ Μύριναν.

Some place the Amazons between Mysia and Caria and Lydia, and according to Ephorus, near to Kyme his own homeland. And this idea may not be by chance, for he may mean the area later settled by the Aeolians and the Ionians, but earlier by the Amazons. And it is said that certain cities are named for them [ἑπωνύμους]: being Ephesus, Smyrna, Kyme, and Myrina. (Ephorus *FGrHist* 70 F114a)

We cannot be sure what it was exactly that Ephorus may have said, as this information about Ephorus' work has been preserved for us by Strabo (12.3.21). Strabo's testimonial seems to imply that Ephorus wrote of an eponymous Amazon called Ephesus who founded the city, and at the very least certainly mentioned Amazons occupying the territory prior to the polis' foundation. It is not clear from this passage which case Ephorus was arguing – the stronger case of eponymous city foundation or the weaker case

⁶⁵ Arctinus of Miletus; *Aethiopis* F1 and F2 (*GEF*); see also *GEF*, p. 111.

⁶⁶ These early references to Amazons in the surviving texts are likely to have resonated with wider traditions and myths for an archaic audience (Graziosi and Haubold 2005). Beyond these examples, there are many more specific literary references for the Amazons in western Anatolia. However, most of these are recorded in later texts, such as those of Diodorus Siculus, Quintus Smyrnaeus and Pausanias. For these references, see Blok 1995. I have only included here texts that pre-date Pindar in order to establish a pre-existing tradition of Amazonian activity in Anatolia at the time Pindar would have been writing.

⁶⁷ See also Steph Byz s.v. Κύμη. See also Rubinstein in *IACP* 817 and Blok 1996 for Amazons at Kyme.

of pre-polis occupancy. There may be some evidence to suggest the former, however, in the light of Ephorus' explicit comments on the settlement of Anaia. Anaia was not far from Ephesus on the Ionian coast, and one of the areas said to have been distributed amongst the Ionian *poleis* after the Melian War (see [Chapter 7](#)). Ephorus apparently mentioned that there was a tomb of the eponymous Amazonian founder of Anaia still in the settlement (Steph Byz s.v. Ἀναίᾱ). So whilst we cannot be sure whether Ephorus discussed an Amazonian foundation for Ephesus or not, it would not be too surprising if he had done so. He did after all come from the city of Kyme, which Hecataeus had said was the homeland of the Amazons, and which celebrated its Amazonian heritage in later antiquity.⁶⁸

It seems that the Ephesians themselves may have embraced their Amazonian past. It was said that in the fifth century Ephesus hosted a competition for sculptors, where each competitor was to fashion the image of an Amazon. Pliny reports that Polykleitos won the contest, with Pheidias coming second. The Amazon sculptures were then dedicated at the Artemision (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 34.19). The story of this contest seems to have been relatively widely known, as Lucian (*Imagines* 6) makes reference to Pheidias' Amazon statue as a particularly exquisite example of sculpture. As is the case with many famous classical statues, none of the fifth-century originals survive, only Roman 'copies'.⁶⁹ As our sources for the competition and statues are all relatively late, there has been some debate over whether the Ephesian contest ever really took place.⁷⁰ While we may never be sure of this point one way or the other, it is significant that the story was told at all. There was clearly a rich tradition, both literary and sculptural, that connected Ephesus and the idea of the Amazons.

Indeed, while evidence for a mythical connection between Ephesus and the Amazons exists for the classical period, it multiplies later in antiquity. In the Hellenistic period, the story surfaces once more in the work of Callimachus. Callimachus describes the warlike Amazons setting up an image of Artemis at the base of an oak tree by the Ephesian coastline, and mentions that the goddess was annually honoured with a dance where young girls were armed with shields and swords (*Hymn to Artemis* 237–47). The idea of Ephesus' Amazonian foundation, and in particular the foundation by an eponymous

⁶⁸ This is most evident in the Roman period, when the eponymous Amazon can be seen on Kyme's coins. A late inscription also records a religious decree made in the name of the eponymous Kyme (*I.Kyme*, no. 37).

⁶⁹ See Bol 1998 for a discussion of the Ephesian Amazon statues through antiquity.

⁷⁰ Ridgway 1974.

Amazon, grew in popularity in the Roman period,⁷¹ and the personal name ‘Amazon’ is even attested in Ephesus for the imperial period.⁷² Amazons were also depicted on the internal frieze of the so-called Temple of Hadrian in Ephesus, alongside the figure of Androclus, the supposed Codrid founder of the city (for more on Androclus, see below). There was a later tradition which held that Ephesus derived its name from the word ἔφεσις (a legal term for appealing to another authority), because when Theseus and Heracles defeated the Amazons, they fled here and took sanctuary with the goddess Artemis (*Etym. Magn.* s.v. Ἐφεσος). It was also said that one of the areas within Ephesus, Smyrna, got its name from an eponymous Amazonian founder (the same Amazon who was responsible for giving her name to the city of Smyrna), and that it was the Amazons who were the first to worship Artemis here (Steph Byz s.v. Ἐφεσος). The Ephesians were also not averse to making use of their supposed Amazonian origins to engage in kinship diplomacy with cities. For example, a coin was issued under the Roman emperor Domitian to commemorate an alliance between Ephesus and Smyrna, featuring the image of two Amazons clasping hands.⁷³

In these later periods, it was not just Ephesus that claimed an Amazonian heritage. Stories of Amazonian foundation seem to have been connected with Kyme from relatively early (see above), and we have seen that Ephorus also mentioned Amazons in connection with Anaia, Smyrna and Myrina. In addition to these, we have evidence from later periods that the smaller towns of Latoreia, Kynna and Myrleia also began to claim that they had been founded by Amazons.⁷⁴ Strabo (11.5.4) tells us that this interest in Amazons went beyond the telling of myths, and even manifested itself in the dedication of tombs or monuments to eponymous Amazon founders. Usually, little is preserved of their actual stories, save for the record of their names and their occupation of the city in question. Nonetheless, having an eponymous Amazonian founder seems to have been relatively common for settlements in western Anatolia. This is remarkable and begs some explanation. Various interpretations have been suggested, with some seeing the eponymous Amazons as expressions of Aeolian nationalism and others as symbols of cooperation between Greek colonists and Anatolian locals. However, it should be noted that the popularity of eponymous Amazonian founders was not a constant phenomenon throughout antiquity, and most of the texts claiming an Amazonian origin date from the

⁷¹ E.g. Pliny, *Natural History* 5.31; Strabo 14.1.4; Tacitus, *Annals* 3.61; Pomponius Mela 1.78; Dionysius Periegetes 827–30.

⁷² *I.Ephesos*¹, no. 941.

⁷³ Head and Poole 1892, nos. 408–10. See also Franke and Nollé 1997: 23ff. ⁷⁴ Blok 1996: 85.

Roman period,⁷⁵ with some references to Amazonian heritage expressed in the Hellenistic period.⁷⁶ It is possible, then, that these claims were relatively recent, and do not reflect long-established local traditions. In general, they should be seen in the context of Hellenistic and Roman regional politics, where cities vied with each other for status by asserting their long histories and connecting themselves to heroic myth.⁷⁷ Ephesus and Kyme are rare examples, therefore, in that the stories of their Amazonian heritage were definitely in circulation by the classical period at the latest.

Amazons are problematic figures in myth, occupying an indeterminate status between men and women, and transgressing gender roles. In the archaic period, they seem to have stood for problematic identity and heroic transgressions of social norms. In this capacity, they were often portrayed in a positive light as heroic characters.⁷⁸ In contrast to this, Athenian political discourse in the classical period cast them in the role of the Other, as Barbarian transgressive females beyond the bounds of civilisation. Given the wider perception of Amazons and their position in myth, the choice of an Amazonian founder would have been a particularly strange one. It should be noted that the Amazon founders of the Ephesian Artemis cult are not directly comparable with Manto. Manto was a woman, but in every other way she conformed to familiar models for Greek *oikists*. Firstly, she was Greek, whereas the Amazons are conspicuously Barbarian. Secondly, her exile from her home was due to civic unrest and her foundation was prompted by an oracular command, whereas no such backstory is recorded for the Amazons. And, finally, Manto was thought to be the final and most

⁷⁵ Coins of the Roman period depicting eponymous Amazonian founders are well known from several cities, most notably Kyme and Smyrna. It has been argued that the eponymous Amazons fulfilled a function for these cities similar to that of the goddess Roma at Rome. See Klose 1987: 27–8. For the eponymous Amazon Smyrna on the coins of Smyrna, see Head and Poole 1892: 250, 254, 255, 279, 282, 289, 292, 293, 295, 298 and 300.

⁷⁶ The frieze on the temple of Artemis Leucophryene at Magnesia on the Maeander is an interesting Hellenistic example of this. The frieze, now in fragments and distributed between museums in Berlin, Paris and Istanbul, showed an Amazonomachy around all four sides of the temple. It is perhaps significant that this particular Amazonomachy displays some unusual elements when compared to its classical precedents: the Amazons are shown wearing short chitons rather than Persian-style patterned pyjama suits; they use a range of weaponry, including some hoplite equipment; their male adversaries are not heroically nude, but wear a range of garments such as corselets and tunics. Although this frieze lies outside the chronological bounds of this book, it is nonetheless interesting to note that at another Ionian city, Magnesia, the portrayal of Amazons was somewhat different from that of the classical Athenian tradition. It is perhaps not too much to argue that the perception of Amazons in Ionia was not the same as in Athens. For the frieze, see Yaylali 1976 and Davesne 1982.

⁷⁷ Blok 1995 and 1996. See Strabo 11.5.4 and Diodorus Siculus 3.55.6 for these later myths. Erskine 2005 mentions the idea of Amazonian connections in myth as becoming an attractive heroic motif in the Hellenistic period, but does not argue this point at any length.

⁷⁸ Blok 1995.

recent founder of Colophon, while the Amazons were described as occupying Ephesus at a very early stage in its history and were later superseded by Greek colonists and a Greek founder. This changes things dramatically. The Amazons were only one part of Ephesus' mythic past – they were merely one chapter in a much more complex and episodic foundation history.

Perhaps the most important factor preventing the Amazons from being proper *oikists* is that they did not actually found the city of Ephesus itself. Pindar seems to have said that the Amazons founded the temple of Artemis specifically, not the polis. Ephorus may have implied that an Amazon gave her name to the city, but there is no evidence that this eponymous Amazon engaged in the establishment of civic structures, as would be expected from a true *oikist*. The distinction between the foundation of the city and the foundation of the sanctuary is crucial. Indeed, at the same time that Pindar was writing in the fifth century, there were other stories specifically about the foundation of the city. This was thought to have happened as part of the Ionian Migration (for more on which, see [Chapter 7](#)). This was the same population movement that brought Neileus, the founder of Miletus, and his brothers to Anatolia, leaving Athens and the ancestral seat of his father Codrus. Amongst these brothers was Androclus, who eventually became the founder of Ephesus.⁷⁹ Androclus was, along with Neileus, one of the better known of Codrus' sons, and Pherecydes goes as far as to claim that he was the main leader of the whole expedition. He is described by Pherecydes as being a legitimate son of Codrus, stressing his high royal status, a status which he necessarily conferred on his city after its foundation. This fragment of Pherecydes is preserved in Strabo (Strabo 14.1.3), who comments that centuries later special honours were still awarded to the aristocrats of Ephesus who claimed descent from Androclus:

ἄρξαι δὲ φησιν Ἀνδροκλον τῆς τῶν Ἰώνων ἀποικίας, ὕστερον τῆς Αἰολικῆς, υἱὸν γνήσιον Κόδρου τοῦ Ἀθηῶν βασιλέως, γενέσθαι δὲ τοῦτον Ἐφέσου κτίστην. διόπερ τὸ βασίλειον τῶν Ἰώνων ἐκεῖ συστήναί φασι, καὶ ἔτι νῦν οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γένους ὀνομάζονται

⁷⁹ The figure of Androclus seems to have become particularly popular in the Roman imperial period, and in particular from the second century AD onwards. Pausanias mentions a shrine of Androclus (7.2.8), and he also appears in several inscriptions of this period from Ephesus. Attempts have been made by excavators to discover the location and remains of this shrine, but it has not yet come to light (Fischer 2010: 24 n40). In addition, Androclus appeared in Ephesian civic art during this time (de Bellefonds 2011: 28–32). A statue of him was erected in the second century at the Foundation of Trajan, while, soon after, another larger statue of him was set up in the Vedius gymnasium. Yet another statue may possibly also have once stood in front of the Library of Celsus, as an inscription has been found here labelling 'τόν τῆς πόλῃως κτίστην'. Androclus also appeared on an internal frieze in the so-called Temple of Hadrian, alongside images of Amazons (see main text above), and also appeared on Ephesus' coins of the Roman period.

βασιλεῖς ἔχοντές τινας τιμὰς, προεδρίαν τε ἐν ἀγῶσι καὶ πορφύραν ἐπίσημον τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους, σκίπωνα ἀντὶ σκίπτρου, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τῆς Ἐλευσινίας Δήμητρος.

He [Pherecydes] says that Androclus, the legitimate son of Codrus the king of Athens, was the leader of the settlement [ἀποικίας] of the Ionians, which was later than the Aeolian, and that he became the founder [κτίστην] of Ephesus. Because of this, they say the kingship of the Ionians was linked to there, and still now those of this line [γένους] are called kings, and have certain honours: such as front seats at the games, wearing purple as a signal of royal descent, a sceptre rather than a staff, and overseeing the rites of Eleusinian Demeter. (Pherecydes *FGrHist* 3 F155)

Yet another account of the foundation of the city of Ephesus was provided by Kreophylos in the third century, just a little after our period. Although not strictly within the time frame considered in this book, it is nonetheless worth noting Kreophylos' account here. It is not clear whether this story was part of the Androclus foundation myth, as no protagonists are explicitly named. However, there is nothing here that contradicts the idea of Androclus as *oikist* and indeed, this passage complements the Androclus story, potentially filling in some of the gaps. Indeed, in the Roman period, the story of Androclus does seem to have involved the spearing of a boar. In any case, what is clear from the passage is that during the third century (and most likely before then as well) the idea was in circulation that the city of Ephesus was founded following a more familiar Greek colonial pattern, linked to the Ionian Migration. Colonists came to an empty *terra nullius*, seemingly inhabited only by animals, and were led to the correct location of the city by divine and natural signs.

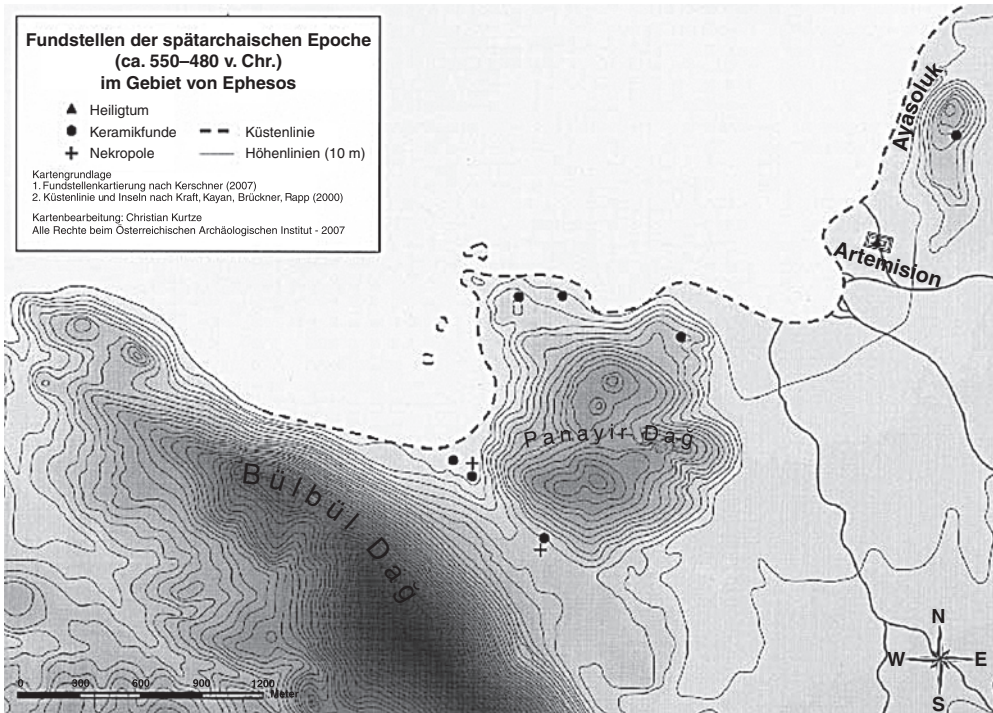
Κρεώφυλος δ' ἐν τοῖς Ἐφεσίων "Προῖς 'οἱ τὴν Ἐφεσον,' φησί, 'κτίζοντες καὶ πολλὰ τάλαιπωρηθέντες ἀπορίας τόπου τὸ τελευταῖον πέμψαντες εἰς θεοῦ ἡρώτων ὅπου τὸ πόλισμα θῶνται, ὁ δ' αὐτοῖς ἔχρησεν ἐνταῦθα οἰκίζειν πόλιν ἥ ἂν ἰχθὺς δείξῃ καὶ σὺς ἄγριος ὑφηγήσῃται. λέγεται οὖν ὅπου νῦν ἡ κρήνη ἐστὶν Ὑπέλαιος καλουμένη καὶ ὁ ἱερὸς λιμὴν ἀλιέας ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἰχθύων τινὰ ἀποθορόντα σὺν ἀνθρακιᾷ εἰσπεσεῖν εἰς φορυτόν, καὶ ἀφθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λόχμην, ἐν ᾗ ἔτυχε σὺς ἄγριος ὢν, ὃς ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς θορυβηθεὶς ἐπέδραμε τοῦ ὄρους ἐπὶ πολὺ, ὃ δὲ καλεῖται Τρηχεῖα, καὶ πίπτει ἀκοντισθεὶς ὅπου νῦν ἐστὶν ὁ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ναός. καὶ διαβάντες οἱ Ἐφέσιοι ἐκ τῆς νήσου, ἔτεα εἴκοσιν οἰκήσαντες, τὸ δεύτερον κτίζουσι Τρηχεῖαν καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ Κορησσόν, καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπὶ τῇ ἀγορῇ ἰδρύσαντο Ἀπόλλωνος τε τοῦ Πυθίου ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι.'

Kreophylos says in the *Annals of the Ephesians*: 'Those founding Ephesus were very distressed due to uncertainty about the location, and finally sent to the oracle of the god and asked where they should establish the town. He gave them an oracle that they should build the city where a fish showed them and a wild boar guided them. It is then said that, where the so-called Hypelaïos ["Oily"] spring is now and the

Sacred Harbour, the fishermen prepared a meal. One of the fish leapt up with some coal and fell into the rubbish, and it set fire to a thicket in which there happened to be a wild boar. Frightened by the fire, it ran over a large part of the mountain called Trecheia [“Rugged”], until he was speared and fell where now there is the temple of Athena. So the Ephesians, crossing over from the island where they had lived for twenty years, for a second time, founded Trecheia and the parts around Mt Koressos, and dedicated the sanctuary of Artemis in the agora and of Apollo Pythios in the harbour.’ (Kreophylos *FGrHist* 417 F1)

In the classical period, then, there seems to have been a tradition that the city of Ephesus was founded by the Athenian prince Androclus, and peopled by settlers who colonised the land according to the standard pattern of oracular and natural revelation familiar from many other colonial foundation myths. At the same time as this, there was also a tradition that Ephesus’ main civic cult was founded by the Amazons. This is a somewhat unusual state of affairs. In most cases, the foundation of the city and that of its central cults went hand in hand. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the role of the *oikist* was more than simply the first inhabitant or ruler of a city. They were expected to play an important part in the establishment of the city’s main sanctuaries as well – even the female *oikist* Manto is described as having founded both city and the main sanctuary of Colophon. Indeed, it seems that the initiation of a civic cult was a fundamental part of founding a city. But at Ephesus, the main civic cult was not only said to have been founded by a different person, but a whole different group of people and at a very different time. This sense of dislocation between the city and its temple is extremely unusual.

The separate founding of city and cult would be strange in any part of the Greek world, but it is especially odd at Ephesus. The temple of Artemis was a vital part of the economic and political, as well as the social and cultural, life of the city. The sanctuary drew in visitors and pilgrims not only from the immediate area, but from across the Aegean and Anatolia, both Greeks and non-Greeks. Indeed, it was said that the goddess was consulted here by the Phocaeans before they founded Massalia in southern France, and that the colonies in the west therefore continued to worship Artemis of Ephesus for centuries after (Strabo 4.1.4). The sanctuary’s reputation was so great in the archaic period that it attracted the attention of foreign kings. Croesus of Lydia is said to have lavished dedications on the temple, including most of the columns and statues of heifers made from gold (Hdt 1.92). Connections between the cult of Artemis at Ephesus and at Sardis appear to have been particularly strong (see below). With pilgrims and visitors from far afield, the temple of Artemis was a vital part of the Ephesian economy. And with



14. Map of the Ephesus area in the archaic period, showing the location of the Ayasoluk hill, the Artemision and Panayır Dağ.

dedicants as rich and powerful as Croesus, the temple was also a crucial element shaping the Ephesians' inter-state politics and diplomacy. The temple of Artemis was absolutely central to the city of Ephesus. It is therefore especially strange that the city and the temple it so relied upon had their own separate foundation myths.

Interpreting the Amazons

It has been suggested that the idea of an Amazonian foundation for the cult was perhaps an acknowledgement of the cult's antiquity pre-dating the Greek arrival.⁸⁰ Ephesus was occupied well before the supposed period of the Ionian Migrations, with a fortified settlement on the Ayasoluk hill in the LBA,⁸¹ and ritual activity in the area immediately north of the later

⁸⁰ E.g. Fischer 2010.

⁸¹ Büyükkolancı 2000, 2007. It has been suggested that Ephesus was the location of an LBA principality known from the Hittite texts as Apasa (Hawkins 1998; Mountjoy 1998: 47; Easton

Artemision around a natural spring (Figure 14).⁸² Activity is also attested on the site of the later temple itself, although it is not clear whether this activity was of a religious nature or not.⁸³ While we cannot be sure of continuity in cult practice at the Artemision from the LBA into the EIA, it is nonetheless significant that the area was in continuous use throughout this time. From the EIA, excavators at the temple have reported some sherds of a handmade grey polished ware with incised decoration in the tenth- and ninth-century levels. These vessels have parallels at western and central Anatolian sites, such as Troy, Beycesultan, Gordion and Boğazköy. These wares are found alongside vessels that are considered typically Protogeometric in style, and it is suggested that this mixed ceramic assemblage could possibly indicate a mixed Aegean–Anatolian population.⁸⁴ It is significant that the ceramic assemblage from the Artemision differs in this respect from the domestic assemblages on the Ayasoluk hill. The ceramic assemblages from Ayasoluk undergo a dramatic change around this time, with many long-established wares going suddenly out of fashion, their place taken by new Protogeometric imports and Attic-influenced styles. The sanctuary of Artemis, in contrast, saw some continuity of ceramic traditions alongside the new styles. Of course, the equation between pots and people has long been discredited, and a mixed ceramic assemblage cannot be taken as proof of an ethnically mixed population. However, it is nonetheless significant that there was some continuity in local traditions at the Artemision, even during a period when new styles and practices were growing in popularity in other parts of the site.

Local influences were evident in the cult throughout the historical period, and it is widely accepted that the worship of Ephesian Artemis incorporated many Anatolian elements.⁸⁵ For example, it bears several similarities with the Phrygian cult of the mother goddess Cybele, both in its cultic

et al. 2002: 97–8). While this cannot be proved one way or the other, the possibility remains that Ephesus was the seat of an important regional power during the LBA.

⁸² Bammer and Muss 2007.

⁸³ It has been argued that the site was invested with cult significance in this early period: see Bammer 1999. However, the LBA remains on the site are relatively few, and these levels are difficult to excavate given problems with ground water and later building works. In addition, several of the finds which had previously been considered as establishing a ritual function of the area in the LBA have more recently been proved to be of later date (Kerschner, pers. comm.). For example, the bronze double axes now appear to be from the seventh century (Klebinder-Gauss 2003), and some terracotta and other objects originally considered to be from the LBA have now been dated later (Niemeier 2007a: 54–5 n202).

⁸⁴ Kerschner 2006a: 370–1. See also the comment by Kerschner on Lemos 2007: 727. For the EIA remains at the Artemision more generally, see Kerschner 2003 and Kerschner et al. 2008.

⁸⁵ Burkert and Raffan 1987: 149.

organisation and in its iconography.⁸⁶ One of the best-known aspects of this iconography is the famous ‘many-breasted’ cult statue, the form of which is first attested on coins of the second century BC. Although there is still uncertainty about the origins of this statue type, it nonetheless does seem that it incorporated several elements from Anatolian cult traditions, such as the use of animal friezes to decorate Artemis’ clothing and the *polos* headdress. It has also been argued that the characteristic ‘many-breasted’ decoration itself belonged to a western Anatolian tradition of divine iconography, as representations have been found dating to the fourth century BC of Zeus at Labraunda with similar pectoral ornamentation.⁸⁷ The priest-hoods of Artemis at Ephesus also followed Near Eastern and western Anatolian patterns. The priests of the cult included eunuchs, in the fashion of the cult of Cybele, and in addition one college of priests was given a Persian name – the *megabyzoi* (Strabo 14.1.23). This Anatolian nature of the cult seems to have been openly acknowledged by ancient authors. For example, Timotheus identifies Ephesian Artemis as one of the key cults of Asia in his poem about the Battle of Salamis, saying that Artemis of Ephesus will guide home the defeated Persian soldiers to Sardis, Susa and Ecbatana (F791 Hordern, lines 158–9).

In particular, the cult seems to have been associated with Lydia. In the fourth century, Aristophanes mentioned the Lydian aura of the cult, putting the following invocation into the mouths of his chorus: ‘blessed goddess, who inhabits the all-golden house of Ephesus, where Lydian maidens worship you’ (*Clouds* 595). Artemis was worshipped at the Lydian capital, Sardis, at least by the late sixth century, when a monumental altar to her was constructed.⁸⁸ Artemis at Sardis seems to have been explicitly linked with Artemis of Ephesus, as in dedicatory inscriptions it seems that Artemis of Sardis (*Artemus Sfarden*) and Artemis of Ephesus (*Artemus Ibsimsis*) are used almost interchangeably.⁸⁹ This connection between the two city goddesses seems to have been made explicit by the so-called Sacrilege

⁸⁶ It is perhaps significant that Cybele also had her own sanctuary at Ephesus. This sanctuary has been found on the slopes of Panayır Dağ, with stone reliefs of the goddess and worshippers set up in clefts in the rock. This suggests a general openness to Anatolian cult and in particular to female deities, which reflects on the worship of Ephesian Artemis. See Kerschner et al. 2008.

⁸⁷ For ‘many-breasted’ divine representation in western Anatolia see Fleischer 1973: 311 and plate 138. It has been argued that the ‘many-breasted’ effect does not actually represent part of the original cult statue, but rather the gifts and ornaments that would have been hung on the statue. Over time, the image of the statue would have become increasingly standardised, producing the ‘many-breasted’ effect. For the Carian sanctuary of Zeus Labraundos, see Hellström 2007.

⁸⁸ Hanfmann 1980: 105.

⁸⁹ For the various contexts of Artemis-derived names in Lydian inscriptions, see Gusmani 1964: 63–5. For inscriptions relating to Artemis of Ephesus, see Gusmani 1964: 130–1, and for Artemis

Inscription of the fourth century BC.⁹⁰ This inscription makes reference to an annual procession between the shrines of Artemis in each city, linking them in practice and space as well as symbolically. It also mentions that the Sardian sanctuary of Artemis was established by Ephesians, implying a close cultic connection between the cities. The focus of the inscription, however, is on a number of men sentenced to death for profaning the sacred objects and attacking the sacred messengers during the procession. Tellingly, the list of the condemned includes both Lydian and Greek names, as well as individuals from families where both types of names were used, for example Herakleidos son of Artymas. In addition to the Sardian adoption of the cult of Ephesian Artemis, it also seems that the Lydians respected the original temple of Artemis in Ephesus itself. It is said that Croesus respected the cult to the extent that when the Ephesians ingeniously claimed sanctuary by association, he was willing to lift his siege of the city (Ael. *VH* 3.26). Croesus' lavish dedications at the temple have already been mentioned, and were described by Herodotus (1.92). Apparent confirmation of these benefactions has been uncovered at the Artemision itself. Five fragments of masonry have been found, which, when reconstructed, bear the inscription Βασιλεὺς Κροῖσος ἀνέθηκεν (King Croesus dedicated this).⁹¹ A Lydian inscription has also been found on one of the mouldings of the temple.⁹²

Overall, then, the cult of Artemis at Ephesus was heavily influenced by Anatolian traditions, and was particularly associated with Lydia. It is often argued that the story of an Amazonian foundation for the temple may therefore have been an acknowledgement of this fact. The Anatolian contribution to the cult practices and its development were enshrined, the argument goes, in the foundation myth of the sanctuary itself. However, the story of Amazonian foundation may be more significant than this simple explanation allows. If the aim had simply been to acknowledge that the cult was non-Greek, this might have been better accomplished by positing a founder belonging to another indigenous Anatolian group, such as the Lydians, Carians or Mysians. After all, we have already considered examples of cities such as Miletus and Chios where Carians did

of Sardis 202–3. Artemis of Sardis and Artemis of Ephesus also both appear in funerary inscriptions (Dusinberre 2003: 115–17).

⁹⁰ For the full text of the Sacrilege Inscription, see Dusinberre 2003: 235–7.

⁹¹ *I.Ephesos*², no. 1518. The historicity of Lydian royal dedications in Greek sanctuaries is discussed in Michels 2012, who argues that Lydian kings and Ionian *poleis* may have understood these dedications in very different ways. Whilst the Lydian kings might have viewed them as munificence bestowed on subjects, the Ionians may have seen these gifts as signs of piety and respect.

⁹² Lydian inscription, see Cahill 2010: 256.

feature in the foundation myths. If the function of the myth was to acknowledge Anatolian aspects of the cult, why then should the Artemision be associated specifically with an *Amazonian* founder, rather than simply an Anatolian one?

There would have been no shortage of opportunities for the Ephesians to engage with local Anatolian groups and adopt key mythical figures if they had chosen to do so. At Ephesus, the mixing between Greeks and Anatolians is evident at all levels of society. Following the tribal reform of the archaic period, the Ephesian population was divided into five tribes: the Ephesioi, the Teioi, the Benaioi/Bembinaioi, the Euonymoi and the Karenioi (Ephorus *FGrHist* 70 F126). It is significant that out of these five tribal designations, three names are non-Greek in origin, implying a high level of local Anatolian cultural influence in the city. Some previous scholars have assumed a direct connection between the ethnicity of individuals and the name of the tribe to which they belonged.⁹³ Carl Roebuck, for example, has interpreted the tribal reform in Ephesus as ‘a very decided weakening of the older Ionian element and extension of political participation in the state to alien groups’.⁹⁴ However, there is no evidence to support this equation between tribal names and ethnicity. We cannot be sure, for example, that a member of the Karenioi would necessarily have been Carian in origin whilst a member of the Ephesioi would have been a ‘real’ Ephesian Greek. Indeed, within the *phylai* of the Ephesioi themselves, several of the names of the *chiliastyes* are non-Greek.⁹⁵ Rather than ethnic labels, then, these tribal divisions should be understood as administrative categories within the civic structure, categories that are just as likely to represent areas of residence or professional activities as ethnicity.⁹⁶ It is even possible that these categories were completely arbitrary. While we may agree with Roebuck that tribal reform may well have been a result of greater political enfranchisement and a widening of civic engagement, there is no reason why we should see this in ethnic terms.

As well as these more generic Anatolian or non-Greek aspects of Ephesian society, it seems that Ephesus had particularly close links with the Lydians in particular. The Lydian connections with the cult of Ephesian Artemis have already been discussed. But in addition to this, it seems that at

⁹³ E.g. Sakellariou 1958: 255 and 277; Roebuck 1961: 504 n19. ⁹⁴ Roebuck 1961: 504.

⁹⁵ The names of the *chiliastyes* of the Ephesioi are thought to have been Boreis, Oenopes, Argadeis, Geleontes, Lebedii and Salaminii. See Roebuck 1961: 504 and Jones 1987: 311–15.

⁹⁶ See Chapter 5 for the *phylai* and *chilastyes* of Samos as being territorially based. *IACP* 840 suggests that the same was true for Chios.

a regular and everyday level, the population of Ephesus shared many cultural traits and were in frequent and regular contact with the Lydians. The ceramics of the archaic period include many Lydian imports, as well as a considerable level of Lydian stylistic influence on what would otherwise be termed 'Ionian' pottery. In addition to this, it seems that typically Lydian shapes and styles were produced at Ephesus itself, in a way that rendered them almost indistinguishable from Lydian pottery produced in the Lydian heartland. The use of traditional Lydian techniques of manufacture (such as those involved in the production of 'streaky glaze' wares) has even prompted commentators to suggest that Lydian (or Lydian-trained) potters were at work in Ephesus.⁹⁷ Lydian influences are also evident in the coinage of the city.⁹⁸ Finally, it also seems that the version of the Ionian dialect spoken at Ephesus may have contained several Lydian loan words. The writings of the sixth-century Ephesian poet Hipponax seem to display an innovative use of Anatolian, and specifically Lydian, vocabulary. It remains unclear whether Hipponax's language reflects the common spoken language of Ephesus in the sixth century or a literary style, but his writings nonetheless exemplify the conspicuous influences of Lydian culture on Ephesus.⁹⁹

In addition to all these cultural exchanges between Lydian and Ephesian society more generally, there also seems to have been a deliberate policy of intermarriage between the leading families of both states. In particular, several marriages can be traced connecting two traditional ruling houses of the Basilids and the Mermnads. The Basilids, the old royal family of the city that also claimed to have once been the royal family of all Ionia, seem to have been particularly active in this respect. It was said that a Basilid nobleman named Miletus married Lyde, the daughter of Gyges (Ath. *Deip.* 525c). Almost a century later, another Lydian king, Alyattes, was also to give his daughter to a Basilid ruler. This Lydian princess, the sister of the Lydian king Croesus, became the mother of one of Ephesus' archaic tyrants, Pindar (Ael. *vH* 3.26). This intermarriage is likely to have gone both ways, and Ionian women also married into the Lydian royal house. Croesus' half-brother Pantaleon, for example, was Alyattes' son by an Ionian woman (Hdt 1.92.2–3). We cannot know whether this woman might have been from Ephesus rather than any other Ionian city, but it is likely that Ephesian women, as well as their menfolk, may have married Lydian spouses. Our evidence for this intermarriage between the Ephesian and Lydian royals comes from relatively late literary sources, and we cannot necessarily trust that these marriages were contracted as they have been described. However,

⁹⁷ Kerschner 2007. ⁹⁸ Huxley 1966: 111ff.; Karwiese 1995: 134–5. ⁹⁹ Adiego 2001.

the truth of such stories is not strictly relevant for this discussion – what is more important is that intermarriage between the two royal houses was considered not just eminently plausible but indeed normal. Looking back on fifth-century Ephesus, Plutarch commented that the city had been enveloped utterly by Lydia (τῆς Λυδίας περικεχυμένης: *Lysander* 3). Although this is certainly a critical judgement passed by a later author on a time far before his own, we can nonetheless see that Plutarch may have had something of a point.¹⁰⁰

Given the many links between Ephesus and Lydia, the high status of Lydian culture in Ephesian society, and particularly the Lydian connections with the cult of Ephesian Artemis, the choice of an Amazonian founder for the Artemision seems particularly strange. If the function of such a myth was simply to establish a pre-Greek, Anatolian origin for the cult, then a Lydian founder would have been a much more obvious choice. Instead, both Pindar and Ephorus associated Ephesus with Amazons. In this instance, it seems highly unlikely that the Amazons were merely used as a ‘stand-in’ to represent a generic pre-Greek and local Anatolian past. Rather, the choice of an Amazonian founder must in itself have been significant.

Claiming an Amazonian founder would have had particular significance in the classical period, at around the time that Pindar would have mentioned the myth and when Ephorus would have discussed the Amazonian occupation of the general area. During this period, Amazons were used in Athenian political discourse to represent everything that Greek culture was not. They were both foreign and female, and openly flouted the basic principles underlying all gender norms. They were women who fought in battle, who lived without men, and who organised and governed their own separate society. They were the ultimate expression of Otherness, and being an Amazon was the complete opposite of what it meant to be Greek. Saying that the Artemision at Ephesus was founded by Amazons, then, goes beyond a simple statement about the cult being non-Greek. Instead, it would have been a statement about the cult being anti-Greek; or, at least, anti-Greek in terms of Athenian political rhetoric.¹⁰¹

For example, in his funeral oration, Lysias celebrates a series of wars fought by Athens against Others who threatened the true Greek way of life. The list starts with the Amazons, who are described as a warlike people, ‘ruling many nations, and [having] accomplished the enslavement of those

¹⁰⁰ For more on the particularly close relationship between Ephesus and the Lydians, see Kerschner 2005, 2006b, 2008 and 2010.

¹⁰¹ Tyrrell 1984; Henderson 1994.

around them' (ἀρχουσαι δὲ πολλῶν ἔθνων, καὶ ἔργῳ μὲν τοὺς περὶ αὐτὰς καταδεδουλωμένοι: Lysias 2: 4–5). According to Lysias, the Athenians could feel proud that they had saved Europe twice from despotic Asian powers who had wished to enslave it: first the Amazons and later the Persians. A similar theme is taken up in Plato's *Menexenus*, during Socrates' funeral oration (239b). We are told here that the Athenians felt it their duty to fight for freedom, whether against Barbarians on behalf of all Greeks, or against wayward Greeks when necessary. The Amazons are then listed amongst invaders of the country. The orator Isocrates revisited this theme, claiming that whilst the victory over the Persians was the most celebrated of Athens' achievements, the defeat of the Amazons was equally glorious. After all, he argued, both the Amazons and the Persians had planned to take over all of Europe, and had supposed that by conquering the Athenians they would thereby subdue the entire Hellenic *genos* (*Panegyricus* 68–9). He specifically argued that 'when each was trying to rule over Europe, although they hated the whole Hellenic people, they made complaints against us in particular, thinking by doing this to risk war only against one city, but to rule over all' (καθ' ὃν ἑκάτεροι τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐπῆρχον, μισοῦντες μὲν ἅπαν τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων γένος, ἰδίᾳ δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐγκλήματα ποιησάμενοι, νομίζοντες ἐκ τούτου τοῦ τρόπου πρὸς μίαν μὲν πόλιν κινδυνεύσειν ἀπασῶν δ' ἅμα κρατήσῃν). In classical Athens, Amazons seem to have been explicitly equated with Persians, embodying all that was non-Greek – and, indeed, anti-Greek. However, it is significant that the image of the Amazon as the anti-Greek appears mostly in contexts that celebrate specifically Athenian, rather than Greek, victories. It is Athenian political discourse that depicts Amazons in this light – it is Athenian authors writing for Athenian audiences who make the most use of the figure of the Amazon as an ideological bogeyman.

Athenian political rhetoric focused on Amazons not just as anti-Greeks, but specifically as anti-Athenians. In the classical period, Cimon and his political faction were promoting the figure of Theseus as the poster-boy of Athenian imperial expansion.¹⁰² Theseus' battle against the Amazons was a crucial element within the Theseus myth, and one that recurred frequently in Athenian civic ideology.¹⁰³ The visual image of Theseus fighting an Amazonian foe (or carrying off an Amazon to rape) had become a popular motif in Athens by the end of the sixth century, appearing on the metopes of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi in c. 510 BC and a few years later on the

¹⁰² See [Chapter 2](#) for a discussion of Theseus at Athens.

¹⁰³ Von Bothmer 1957; Tyrrell 1984: 3ff.; Boedeker 1998: 186–9. See Castriota 2005 for the Stoa Poikile in particular, which explicitly compared Theseus' Amazonomachy with the Athenian victory over the Persians at Marathon.

pediment of the temple of Apollo Daphnephoros in Eretria (most likely under Athenian influence), as well as featuring widely on Attic painted pottery. Pherecydes recounted the story of Theseus' rape of an Amazon (*FGrHist* 3 F151 and F152) for his Athenian audiences, while murals of the battle adorned the walls of the Theseum in Athens (Paus 1.17.4), as well as the Stoa Poikile (Paus 1.15.2), and of course the Parthenon itself. Stories pitting Theseus against the Amazons, either carrying one off as a captive for rape, or more commonly fighting the Amazonian army when it came to invade Attica, were a crucial part of the wider Theseus myth. Therefore it is interesting that according to Pausanias' testimony, Pindar specifically mentions that the Amazons founded the temple during the time they were fighting against Athens and Theseus (στρατευομένων ἐπὶ Ἀθήνας τε καὶ Θησέα). This can hardly have been accidental – there is an explicit link here between the campaign against Athens and the founding of the Artemision. This link is unlikely to have passed either an Ephesian or an Athenian audience by.

Claiming an Amazonian founder in the classical period may not, then, have carried associations of being anti-Greek, but rather of being much more specifically anti-Athenian. In this chapter, we have already seen how the city of Colophon had a somewhat tense relationship with Athens. Ephesus' relationship with Athens in the classical period may have been little better. Imports of Protogeometric pottery from Attica suggest that the city had some connections with Athens in the EIA, and it is possible that some migrants from Attica did indeed settle here during the EIA.¹⁰⁴ However, the relationship may have been less cordial in the classical period. Athenian imperial expansion, and the spread of Athenian political rhetoric, may not have been welcomed at Ephesus, once the seat of the Ionian kings. This is not to say that Ephesus was necessarily anti-Athenian in all of its policies or actions. But the city did join the great revolt against Athens in 411 BC, and welcomed the arrival of the Spartan general Lysander (Plutarch, *Lysander* 3). Ephesus then served as Lysander's base in his campaign against the Athenians, and it was from Ephesus that he defeated the Athenian navy at the Battle of Notion. The myth of the Amazonian foundation of the Artemision should perhaps be seen in this context.

The Amazons of Ephesus' foundation should not be taken as implying a fixed political position on the part of the Ephesians. But the cult was an intrinsic part of the life of the city and closely linked with civic identity. Claiming that it had originally been established by Amazons would have

¹⁰⁴ Kerschner 2006a.

coloured the image of Ephesus more generally. From the Athenian point of view, the Ephesians would have been tainted by their connection with a dangerous and transgressive tribe of outlaw women, who stood in opposition to all accepted norms of settled Greek life and who were particular enemies of Athens. But things may have seemed quite different from an Ionian perspective. Ephesus would have been associated with powerful female warriors, who built their own self-sufficient society, expanded to rule neighbouring peoples, and clashed with the Athenians. Ephesus may not have been anti-Athenian as such, but there nonetheless may have been an attraction in numbering the Amazons amongst its civic founders. The myth does not clash with that of an Ionian foundation for the city under Androclus, and can indeed work well alongside it. Ephesus could have the best of both worlds: the Amazonian foundation of the Artemision, partnered with the Ionian foundation of the city; the female establishment of cult, matched by the male establishment of political structures; an Anatolian origin for its religious authority, paired with a Greek origin for its temporal power. With Pindar's tale of the Amazons, Ephesus could have its cake and eat it. A snide jibe at Athens may have been an added bonus.

Despite the many clear differences between them, there are also a number of interesting similarities in the foundation myths of Colophon and Ephesus. Both cities had multiple foundation traditions, but in each case there was a persistent and popular tradition linking the city both to female founders and to cult practice. At Colophon this was the prophetess Manto, while Ephesus had its Amazons. These stories of female founders were told and retold over the centuries, and were enduring features of civic identity in each city. These myths upset the orthodox gender roles we tend to associate with classical Greek society, and their heroines transgress normal gender expectations. It is perhaps possible that gender roles in the Ionian cities may have been somewhat different from those familiar to us from Athens and other mainland Greek cities.

Female founders are significant not only for our understanding of gender roles at Ephesus and Colophon, but also for the construction of cultural difference in these cities. Ideas about gender and gendered ethnicity formed a vital part of political discourse in the classical period, at Athens in particular. The foundation myths of Colophon and Ephesus suggest that these ideas were not necessarily shared by the Ionian cities. The acceptance and even the celebration of a female *oikist* at Colophon, and the myth of an Amazonian Artemision at Ephesus, both imply a very different type of political discourse in these Ionian *poleis*. At Colophon, the stories of Manto and her prophetic family proved more popular and enduring than

the violent myth of conquest and conflict told by Mimnermus. Colophon seems to have been the kind of place that may well have been comfortable with an ambiguous *oikist*. At Ephesus, the separate foundation stories attached to the city and to the main civic cult may not have been considered to be problematic. Claiming an Amazonian foundation for the temple of Artemis was a way of being Ionian in a civic sense, but also of being locally Anatolian at the same time. Crucially, however, the choice of an Amazonian founder implies not simply a non-Greek or Anatolian origin, but specifically an anti-Athenian origin. Ephesus' identification with the Amazons sets it up in direct opposition to the Athenian political rhetoric about gender and Greekness.

Cult practice and cult centres are also vital in both of these foundation traditions. At Colophon, the foundation of Claros is a central part of the establishment of Colophon by Manto. At Ephesus, the founding of the Artemision is both a parallel and a proxy for the origins of the city as a whole. The emphasis on cult in both myths may perhaps be related to the importance of these sanctuaries to the cities in question – Claros was synonymous with Colophon, just as the Artemision was synonymous with Ephesus. It is not possible to be sure whether these two structural similarities are causally linked. Did the figure of a female founder lead to an emphasis on cult? Or, as is perhaps more likely, did the importance of sanctuary and cult lead to the female founders?

It is significant that both of these cities were well integrated into their Anatolian milieu, and may not have been straightforwardly 'Greek'. There is strong evidence for interaction and mixing at all levels of Colophonian and Ephesian society, and in particular with Lydia. It is therefore perhaps unsurprising that these cities may not have represented themselves as wholly Ionian. After all, neither Ephesus nor Colophon, we are told by Herodotus (1.147), celebrated the Apatouria. These were the only two Ionian cities that did not celebrate this most Ionian of festivals, and Herodotus suggests that they avoided it deliberately, using an excuse to avoid it. Whatever the reason for this failure to celebrate the Apatouria, the fact of it marked Ephesus and Colophon out. These cities chose not to share in the common Ionian rite of passage whereby boys were initiated by their fathers into their phratries and citizenship. Perhaps such a festival celebrating masculinity and patrilineal descent would not have gone down well with the founding mothers of Ephesus and Colophon.

The Ionian Migration

ἔτεσι δὲ οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον Μέδων καὶ Νειλεὺς πρεσβύτατοι τῶν Κόδρου παίδων ἑστασίασαν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ οὐκ ἔφασκεν ὁ Νειλεὺς ἀνέξεσθαι βασιλευόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Μέδοντος, ὅτι ὁ Μέδων τὸν ἕτερον ἦν τῶν ποδῶν χωλός. δόξαν δὲ σφισιν ἀνενεγκεῖν ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς, δίδωσι Μέδοντι ἢ Πυθία βασιλείαν τὴν Ἀθηναίων. οὕτω δὴ ὁ Νειλεὺς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Κόδρου παίδων ἐς ἀποικίαν ἀπεστάλησαν, ἀγαγόντες μὲν καὶ αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸν βουλόμενον, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστόν σφισιν ἦσαν τοῦ στρατεύματος οἱ Ἴωνες . . . ὥς δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν κατῆραν, ἐπὶ ἄλλην ἐτρέποντο ἄλλοι τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσση πόλεων.

Many years later Medon and Neileus, the oldest of the sons of Codrus, quarrelled about the kingship, as Neileus did not agree that Medon should be elevated to rule over him, because Medon was lame in one foot. They referred the matter to the Delphic oracle, and the Pythia gave kingship over the Athenians to Medon. And so Neileus and the rest of the sons of Codrus were sent off to live abroad [ἀποικίαν], taking with them any Athenian who wished to go, and the majority of them on the expedition were Ionians . . . When they arrived at Asia by ship, each turned their steps to different cities on the coast. (Pausanias 7.2.1–4)

In the last three chapters, we have seen how the foundation myths of individual Ionian *poleis* worked to construct complex and multifaceted civic identities. In this chapter, we will explore how foundation myths shed light on the collective identity of the Ionian cities as a whole. It is evident that the cities did indeed have a conscious sense of collective identity. The collective noun Ἴωνες is used to designate them, and this is a designation that the Ionians themselves seem to have embraced. As we saw in [Chapter 4](#), Herodotus described how the Ionian cities set great store by their collective Ionian identity, with some people taking pains to claim to be ‘more’ Ionian than others (Hdt 1.147). In addition to this, for much of antiquity an Ionian League existed. This was an official corporate body, whose membership was restricted exclusively to the Ionian cities, and where there were formal practices and channels of communication to bring the Ionians together. The League comprised the twelve Ionian cities of Phocaea, Clazomenae, Erythrae, Chios, Teos, Lebedus, Colophon, Ephesus, Priene, Myus, Samos and Miletus, and was later

expanded to include Smyrna (more on which below). The longevity of the League indicates the enduring importance of the Ionian collective identity – it seems to have been established sometime in the seventh century BC and is attested as late as the second or third century AD (Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists* 2.25). The institution would not have survived so long unless the concept of Ionian solidarity had continued to be significant to the Ionian cities themselves. This significance will necessarily have changed over time, evolving in response to the historical context. The overall concept of a collective Ionian identity, however, remained a constant. But what did it mean to be an Ionian in the archaic and classical periods?

This is not the same question as how and why Ionian identity initially emerged. The word ‘Ionian’ or its cognates appear in both Mycenaean Greek and Near Eastern sources from the LBA, and it is possible that some form of Ionian collective identity existed at this time.¹ However, it is not certain whether the term was used for a conscious group identity until the eighth century. In its Mycenaean and Near Eastern contexts, the word usually designates people from a particular geographical area, or sometimes people from a particular linguistic, cultural or ethnic group. However, the word is applied from an etic perspective and its usage does not necessarily mean that the people in question possessed a conscious sense of collective identity. Our first clear evidence of this comes from the eighth century, when they are mentioned as an ethnic detachment of fighting men in the *Iliad* (13.685). Not long after this, the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* describes the Ionians coming together at Delos for the collective worship of Apollo (lines 146–55). The causes of this Ionian ethnogenesis and the processes by which it was effected remain unclear, and several different explanations have been proposed. It has been argued, for example, that Ionian identity emerged in response to Near Eastern ethnic categorisations, or in response to conflict with Lydians or Aeolians.² But however and why an Ionian collective identity emerged, it is evident that it had done so well before the start of the archaic period. At the opening of the seventh century, therefore, it seems that the Ionian cities considered themselves as forming some kind of corporate group.

It seems that Ionian identity at this time was both ethnic and geographical. The designation ‘Ionian’ itself was that of an *ethnos* – a grouping that implied putative descent from a common ancestor, the eponymous Ion. By identifying themselves as Ionian, therefore, the cities claimed an ethnic

¹ See Hall 2002: 70–1 and Herda 2009: 31–2 for the use of the term ‘Ionian’ in Near Eastern texts and Mycenaean documents.

² For example, Hall (2002: 70–3) argues for Ionian ethnogenesis as a result of conflict with the Aeolians to the north.

component to their collective identity.³ A geographical component to the collective identity is also implied by the focus on Ionia itself – on the coastline and islands of central western Anatolia (Figure 1). There were many other groups and *poleis* claiming Ionian descent and membership of the Ionian *ethnos*, both elsewhere in the Aegean and around the Greek world more generally. Not least amongst these were the colonies of the Ionian cities in the central Mediterranean and the Black Sea. Even these colonies, however, did not partake in the collective identity shared by the Ionian cities – after all, they were not physically located in Ionia.⁴ Both ethnic and geographical factors, therefore, were relevant to the collective identity of the Ionian cities.

Out of these two factors, it is often assumed that ethnicity was the more significant. Although Carians, Lydians, Mysians, Aeolians and Dorians lived in close geographical proximity, sharing space with the Ionians, by definition they were not included within a sense of collective Ionian identity. It is therefore often supposed that a sense of common descent and ancestry lay at the heart of their shared Ionian identity.⁵ But while ethnicity does seem to have been one factor in Ionian identity, it is not immediately evident how important it may have been relative to other factors. To understand this, we need to investigate the way common Ionian ethnicity was articulated in the classical and archaic periods. It might be expected that the Ionians would have expressed a sense of common origins and ethnicity through shared social and cultural forms, especially when it came to civic traditions.⁶ Such traditions are crucial in the construction of civic identity, and shared traditions would be a clear way of articulating the idea of a

³ The definition of ethnicity used here is a form of group identity linked with the idea of a putative common descent. This distinguishes ethnicity from any actual facts of biological descent or race. Ethnicity is concerned with what people think and say about where they came from, not where they may actually have come from. Over the last fifteen years there have been numerous studies considering theories and approaches for dealing with ancient ethnicities. See for example Emberling 1997; Hall 1997 and 2002; Jones 1997; Lucy 2005; Mac Sweeney 2009.

⁴ The topic of Ionian collective identity more generally is a substantial one, and warrants a full treatment elsewhere, although of course the conclusions reached here may be of relevance to such an enquiry. It has been suggested that the concept of Ionian identity originally emerged in Ionia, and was exported from there to the western and central Aegean, rather than the other way around, as is traditionally assumed. Hall provides references for both sides of this debate (2002: 70 n68).

⁵ E.g. Rubinstein in *IACP* 1053.

⁶ As mentioned in Chapter 1, the relationship between ethnicity and culture is not direct or automatic. Cultural traits do not emerge automatically from shared descent, with groups naturally having a similar culture because of similar origins. Rather, culture is dynamic and flexible, and can be used to construct a sense of similarity and difference. Even tradition is significant in the construction of identities – the following of tradition is not an entirely passive phenomenon, but rather is an active choice in itself.

shared heritage. However, the Ionian cities do not seem to have shared many civic traditions. Political structures varied from polis to polis,⁷ as did the civic division of the citizen population into *phylai* and *chiliastyes*.⁸ The cities also seem to have structured their calendar years independently, and the names of the months were different in different places.⁹ As the months were connected to civic festivals, this diversity in the calendar is therefore indicative of diversity in polis cult as well. Perhaps the best-known example of this is the festival of the Apatouria, which is often considered to have been a vital part of Ionian identity.¹⁰ While most of the Ionians of Ionia did engage with this wider Ionian tradition, neither Ephesus nor Colophon observed the feast (Hdt 1.147). Language was another area of variation, as although all in the Ionian cities spoke a version of the Ionian dialect of Greek, Herodotus (1.142) claims that there were four different dialects

⁷ Many of the Ionian cities were traditionally oligarchic, and tyrants are attested for *poleis* such as Samos and Miletus. Some of these tyrants may have claimed to be kings, such as the Basilids of Ephesus. In contrast, Chios seems to have developed its own mixed constitution, with two councils functioning, presumably one for aristocrats while the other was known as the 'people's council' (βουλὴ τὴν δημοσίην), and included representatives from each of the *phylai*. See ML no. 8 for the inscription known as the Constitution of Chios. See also O'Neill 1978/9; Robinson 1997: 90–101.

⁸ Roebuck 1961; Crielaard 2009: 54–5. It has sometimes been argued that the Ionians of Ionia shared tribal divisions with their mother-city of Athens, as the pre-Cleisthenic tribes of Attica – the Geleontes, Hopletes, Aegicoreis and the Argadeis – are indeed sometimes found amongst the Ionian cities. However, these four tribes are often supplemented with others, as in the case of Miletus, which also seems to have had the Boreis and Oenopes. In other cases, the Attic tribes were absent altogether, and tribal divisions particular to the individual polis were instead used. We have already encountered examples of this on Samos, which had the Astypalaiaans and Chesians, and at Ephesus, which had the Ephesioi, the Teioi, the Karenioi, the Euonymoi and the Bembinaioi. Different numbers of *phylai* can be found in different cities, as well as *phylai* with different names. In some cases these differences may be due to the partial nature of the epigraphic record, but in others (such as those mentioned here) they are likely to represent real divergences in civic structure and organisation.

⁹ See the relevant entries for each city in Samuel 1972. Our information regarding the months varies from city to city, but is enough to identify some notable divergence between *poleis*. Our best evidence for an archaic and classical calendar comes from Miletus, where the year was as follows: Panemos, Metageitnion, Boedromion, Pyanopsion, Apatourion, Poseideon, Lenaion, Anthesterion, Artemision, Taureon, Thargelion and Kalamaion. At Ephesus, our information dates from the Roman imperial period, but nonetheless suggests that the city had previously operated on a different calendar. The city seems to have shared the Milesian months of Metageitnion, Poseideon, Lenaion, Anthesterion, Artemision and Taureon. But other month names also appear, including Thargelion, Klareon and Maimakterion. Phocaea seems to have shared the month of Artemision with Miletus and Ephesus, and Maimakterion with Ephesus, but additionally seems to have had a month named Heraion. Similarly Chios, which shared the months Artemision, Badromion (Boedromion) and Poseideon, but which also had the month names Leukathion and Plunterion.

¹⁰ In the Athenian version of the festival, three days were set aside for male citizens to feast and make sacrifices in their phratries. On the third day, young boys were initiated into the phratries by their fathers, each dedicating a lock of his hair to the gods as part of the process (Lambert 1999: 143ff.).

within Ionia.¹¹ In their civic traditions, then, the Ionians do not seem to have articulated a strong sense of shared ethnicity or origins.

Foundation myths are another area where common ancestry may have been expressed. In particular, the myth of the Ionian Migration offers an explanation for both the shared geography and shared ethnicity of the Ionian cities. We have encountered the story of the Ionian Migration already, in the context of Milesian myths of violent arrival (Chapter 4). However, it refers not just to Miletus, but to the Ionian cities more generally. It posits that the Ionians arrived in Anatolia as part of a single and coherent colonisation movement sometime after the Trojan and Theban Wars. This movement was said to have been led by the sons of the mythical Athenian king Codrus, who left their home because of a dispute over which of them would succeed their father. Upon arriving in the eastern Aegean, the Codrids founded the Ionian cities, establishing their rule over the native populations. The story of the Ionian Migration is not preserved for us anywhere in a complete and succinct form. The passage from Pausanias, quoted at the start of this chapter, offers a handy précis. It is, however, much later than the period discussed in this book and does not necessarily reflect the tales told in archaic and classical times.¹² Indeed, it is significant that the story of the Ionian Migration does not appear to pre-date the fifth century – the earliest text we know of which mentioned the story appears to have been Panyassis’ *Ionika* (at least, this is what the *Suda* tells us). Furthermore, it seems that several elements of Pausanias’ account did not appear in earlier versions, and that these earlier versions of the tale often offered alternative renderings of the Ionian Migration story,¹³ and others offer alternatives to

¹¹ Miletus, Myus and Priene, we are told, had a Carian-influenced dialect; Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedus, Teos, Clazomenae and Phocaea had a Lydian-influenced dialect; Erythrae and Chios had their own dialect; and Samos had its own individual dialect. Given the evidence for Lydian linguistic influences on the poetry of Hipponax at Ephesus, and the appearance of Carian names and a para-Carian inscription at Miletus (see Chapters 6 and 4 respectively), the existence of these local language patterns seems understandable. Studies of inscriptions from Chios and Erythrae also seem to confirm Herodotus’ claim, with unique grammatical features suggesting a slight difference in the local dialect (Garbrah 1978).

¹² References to the story can also be found in (some of these references are very oblique, others less so): Hecataeus *FGrHist* 1 F228; Herodotus 1.145–7; Pherecydes *FGrHist* 3 F125 and F155; Hellanicus *FGrHist* 4 F48 and F125; Ephorus *FGrHist* 70 F125, F126 and F22; Aristotle F76 (Rose); Thucydides 1.2.6; 1.12.4; 2.15.4; 6.82.3 and 7.57.4; Plato, *Euthydemus* 302c; Isocrates, *Panegyricus* 122; Parian Marble A.27; Demon *FGrHist* 327 F22; Polybius 16.12; Dionysius of Halikarnassos 4.25.4–5; Plutarch *De glor. Ath.* 7; Strabo 8.7.1 and 14.1.3; Vellius Paterculus 1.4.3; Vitruvius 4.1.4; Polyaeus *Strategemata* 8.43; *Suda* s.v. Ἴωνία (Adler no. 494). The struggle between Codrus’ sons for the throne is described in Hellanicus *FGrHist* 4 F125 and *vh* 8.5.

¹³ For example, the family tree of the Codrids is fuller here than elsewhere. Cydrelus, Nauclus, Cnopus and Aepytus are all found in Strabo 14.1.3, but not in earlier texts. Androclus is indeed

existing narratives. According to Pherecydes, for example, it was Androclus, not Neileus, who led the migration (Pherecydes *FGrHist* 3 F155);¹⁴ and according to Hecataeus, when Cnopus first founded Erythrae he named it ‘Cnopusopolis’ after himself (*FGrHist* 1 F228). As we have already seen, however, variations within a mythic tradition are common. In the case of the Ionian Migration, while there may have been many individual stories and variations, these do nonetheless form an overall tradition.

Interpretations of the Ionian Migration myths vary, from those who adopt a positivist approach and consider the basis of the stories to be historical truth to those who take a constructivist approach and consider them the political inventions of later periods.¹⁵ As stated in [Chapter 2](#), this book is more concerned with the social significance of this myth during the archaic and classical periods than with any potential information that might be gained from it about actual civic origins in the EIA. Whatever the truth or otherwise of the Ionian Migration myth, the story would not have been told and retold unless it was of some contemporary social significance, and unless it fulfilled some social functions for those doing the telling.

One obvious function of the Ionian Migration story is that it served to promote Athenian expansionist ambitions in the eastern Aegean during the classical period. This strategic use of the story has been widely acknowledged, even in strongly positivist treatments of the myth. The idea of shared Ionian ancestry was important in the maintenance of the Delian League more generally, and the concept that Athens was the mother-city of the Ionian cities in particular gave it a status and authority that could be used to

mentioned in the classical period: see Hellanicus *FGrHist* 4 F125. For Apoecus, see Pausanias 7.3.6, although it is not clear here who Apoecus’ father might be. Apoecus may be an allegorical figure rather than a mythical one, given that his name can be connected to *apoikia* and that he appears only in later texts.

¹⁴ The question of whether Androclus or Neileus should be considered as the leader of the Migration has been much discussed, along with the attendant question of whether Ephesus or Miletus should be considered as the leading city of the Ionian League (e.g. Momigliano 1933; Lenschau 1944). The existence of these two competing alternative versions is taken as evidence of tension between Ephesus and Miletus, each of which would have promoted its own *oikist* at the expense of the other in order to strengthen their position vis-à-vis the other Ionians. However, this issue does not concern us directly here.

¹⁵ For examples of the positivist interpretations, see Bilabel 1920: 2–3; Momigliano 1933; Lenschau 1944; Roebuck 1955 and 1961; Sakellariou 1958: 39–76; Huxley 1966; Cook 1975; Emlyn-Jones 1980: 10–16; Herda 1998; Gorman 2001: 14–43; Finkelberg 2005; Sourvinou-Inwood 2005; Vanschoonwinkel 2006; Lemos 2007; Niemeier 2007a; Herda 2009: 67–101. For constructivist interpretations, see Nilsson 1951; Prinz 1979; Hall 2002: 37 and 67–71; Kowalzig 2005: 49–51; Cobet 2007; Crielaard 2009; Greaves 2010. The most detailed and comprehensive treatment of the myths of the Ionian Migration remains Sakellariou 1958, although this does not consider the myths chronologically in their contemporary historical contexts, or take into account their literary and political functions.

justify political control.¹⁶ It seems that Athenians (and especially Athenian politicians) did try to make this claim at several points in the archaic and classical periods. Well before the expansion of Athenian power and the establishment of the Delian League, Solon is famously said to have claimed that Athens was the leader of all the Ionians (γινώσκω, καὶ μοι φρενὸς ἔνδοθεν ἀλγέα κείται / πρεσβευτάτην ἔσορῶν γαῖαν Ἰαονίης κλινομένην: F4a IEG). Similarly, Plato also seems to have regarded Athens as the *metropolis* of the other Ionians. None of the Ionians speak of an ‘ancestral Zeus’, we are told – neither the Athenians nor those who went out as colonists from Athens (οὐθ’ ὅσοι ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως ἀπωρισμένοι εἰσὶν οὔθ’ ἡμῖν: *Euthydemus* 302CC).¹⁷ Isocrates also claimed that Athens had primacy amongst the Ionians and fulfilled the role of a benevolent older sibling. Spartan influences, encouraging the Ionian cities to break their historical ties with Athens, he claims, are responsible for them falling back under Persian rule:

ἐπὶ δὲ τελευτῆς οὕτω πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἐκδότους ἐποίησαν, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἡμετέρας πόλεως τοὺς Ἰῶνας ἀπέστησαν, ἐξ ἧς ἀπώκησαν καὶ δι’ ἣν πολλάκις ἐσώθησαν, τοῖς δὲ βαρβάροις αὐτοὺς ἐξέδωσαν.

Finally they made it so that many cities were given up, and so that the Ionians distanced themselves from our city, which had settled [ἀπώκησαν] them and had saved them many times – thus they gave them up to the barbarians. (Isocrates, *Panegyricus* 122)

The converse has also been argued from the Ionian perspective – that the Ionians used the myth to garner Athenian support and favour. But while the myth could potentially have been used by the Ionians in this way, there is limited evidence for them actually having done so. During his preparations for the Ionian Revolt, the Milesian tyrant Aristagoras did explicitly remind the Athenians that they were related to the Ionians of Ionia as a mother-city (Hdt 1.97). However, any affection for Athens as a mother-city must have been secondary to strategic political calculation. Athens was not Aristagoras’ first choice of ally – he went to the Spartans first. Indeed, the

¹⁶ Another oft-cited example of this in action was Athens’ Sicilian campaign. The rhetoric of this involved Athenians going to the aid of their Ionian kinsmen in Leontinoi against the Dorian Syracusans who threatened them, although Thucydides considers the real motive behind the campaign to have been imperial expansion: Thucydides 3.86. See also Thucydides 1.2.6; 1.12.4; 2.15.4; and 7.57.4.

¹⁷ There is an added incentive for Plato to highlight the centrality of Athens in the Ionian Migration. According to the *Suda*: s.v. Πλάτων (Adler no. p 1707), Plato traced his ancestry back to the Codrids and the Pylian Nēleus through his father and his mother respectively (Diogenes Laertius 1.3). Given his family background, there was all the more reason why Plato would promote the Codrid version of the Ionian Migration.

record of the Ionian cities under the Delian League suggests that they were less than happy under the yoke of their supposed mother-city. As implied in the quote from Isocrates above, Athens had to struggle to keep the Ionian cities in line, and on several occasions resorted to drastic measures to prevent their defection. Most of the Ionian cities rebelled from the League at one time or another, several more than once. The Erythraeans and the Milesians¹⁸ were amongst the first to revolt, both leaving the confederacy in 453 BC. However, both cities were soon back under Athenian control, with harsh terms imposed on both Miletus¹⁹ and Erythrae.²⁰ Even more dramatic was Samos' revolt from Athens in 440 BC with the help of the satrap Pisuthnes, after years of staunch support for the Delian League.²¹ The Athenians crushed this rebellion, and dealt with their Samian 'allies' ruthlessly. The Samians were not the only Ionians who preferred Persian to Athenian rule, calling in help from their Achaemenid neighbours. As already mentioned in [Chapter 6](#), when Colophon revolted from Athens for the second time in 427 BC, it invited the Persian army officer Itamenes to occupy the city rather than allow the Athenians entry (Thuc 3.34). Even rumours of revolt caused the Athenians to clamp down. Fearing the defection of a rich and previously staunch ally, they ordered the Chians to destroy their city walls in 425 (Thuc 4.51).²² Chios eventually revolted in 412, along with Erythrae, the Aeolian city of Lesbos and Euboea.²³ This antipathy between Athens and the Ionian cities continued into the fourth century, with Athens eventually sending out colonists to Samos and essentially revoking its autonomy.²⁴ Overall, therefore, the Ionian cities did not generally welcome Athenian rule, and are unlikely to have promoted the myth of the Ionian Migration in order to appeal to Athens.

Another potential function for the story is that it provided the Ionians with a foundation myth for Ionia in general, and a mythical explanation for their collective identity. Indeed, the story does potentially set out a strong vision for ethnic Ionian unity, giving the Ionian cities a common history and common ancestors in the family of Codrus. It is evident that there was an ethnic dimension to Ionian identity, as implied by the very name 'Ionian'. But it remains unclear exactly how important this ethnic dimension may

¹⁸ By this time, Myus was under Milesian control, and so revolted along with Miletus from Athens. However, only Miletus will be discussed here for simplicity.

¹⁹ Meiggs 1972: 112–17, 188 and 562–5; McGregor 1987: 61–4.

²⁰ Meiggs 1972: 112–17; McGregor 1987: 61–4.

²¹ Samos' previous support for the Delian League: Legon 1972 and Shipley 1987: 109–12. For the Athenian impositions on Samos, see Thucydides 1.115–7; Meiggs 1972: 188–92; McGregor 1987: 98–100; and Shipley 1987: 113ff.

²² Meiggs 1972: 314. ²³ Meiggs 1972: 359–63. ²⁴ Shipley 1987: 155–64.

have been for the collective identity as a whole. How important was the myth of collective origin and common descent to the Ionians? What did people in the Ionian cities think of the myth of the Ionian Migration?

Reassessing the Ionian Migration

Upon close inspection, the myth of the Codrids and the Ionian Migration provides less of a basis for ethnic unity amongst the Ionians than might first appear. Several versions of the story circulating in the archaic and classical periods suggested that the migrants were not all Ionian, and that even those who were Ionian were not from Athens. The case of the Codrids themselves illustrates this point. Codrus was indeed said to have been a king of Athens, and the Codrids are described as setting out from Athens to Ionia. However, the family of Codrus was not originally Athenian, but rather kings of Pylos in Messenia, tracing their line back to the original Nēleus, son of Poseidon. They were driven out by the returning Heracleidae, and migrated to Athens in the time of Melanthus (Codrus' father and Neileus' grandfather), establishing their rule after Melanthus defeated the Boeotian king Xanthius in a border duel.²⁵ The throne of Athens seems to have passed directly from Melanthus to Codrus, before hitting something of a sandbank with Codrus' numerous progeny. It was this dispute over succession that led to Codrus' younger and illegitimate sons embarking on their migration to Ionia. Hellanicus chronicled the ups and the downs of the dynasty in some detail, ending with Codrus' oldest son, Medon, succeeding him on the throne of Athens. The fallout of this succession, as we have already seen, is described as the spark that kicked off the Ionian Migration (ὁ δὲ νεώτερος αὐτοῦ παῖς Νηλεὺς τῆς δωδεκαπόλεως Ἰωνίας κτιστῆς ἐγένετο: Hellanicus *FGrHist* 4 F125). But the genealogy Hellanicus gives for the Codrids is interesting.

²⁵ Vidal-Naquet has identified this mythic episode as especially significant for the classical Apatouria (1986). It is interesting that while the Apatouria was considered to be the quintessentially Ionian festival (see main text above), it originated in the battle between two non-Ionian kings to establish a new territory after a migration. Ionian identity frequently seems to be connected with mobility, migration and transformation. Stories about Codrus and the backstory of the Codrid family can be found in: Ephorus *FGrHist* 70 F22; Hellanicus *FGrHist* 4 F125; Lycurgus, *Against Leocrates* 85–7; Demon *FGrHist* 327 F1; Kastor of Rhodes *FGrHist* 250 F4; Aelian *VH* 8.5; Zenobius *Proverbs* 4.3; Eusebius *Greek Chronicle* 65–7. For fuller discussions of the sources and myths concerning Codrus and his family at Athens, see Momigliano 1933: 264–9 and especially Robertson 1988. Robertson 1988 demonstrates that the story of the Codrid family emerged only gradually over the course of the late sixth and fifth centuries, with various distinct myths being grafted onto a single regal dynasty. It is significant that this happened at precisely the same time that the stories of the Ionian Migration began to appear.

Κόδρος ἦν ἀπὸ Δευκαλίωνος, ὥς φησιν Ἑλλάνικος. γίνεται γὰρ Δευκαλίωνος μὲν καὶ Πύρρας, ὡς δέ τινες, Διὸς καὶ Πύρρας, “Ἑλλην· Ἑλληνος δὲ καὶ Ὀθρηίδος Ξοῦθος Αἶολος Δῶρος Ξενοπάτρα· Αἰόλου δὲ καὶ Ἰφιδος τῆς Πηνειοῦ Σαλμωνεύς· Σαλμωνεως δὲ καὶ Ἀλκιδίκης Τυρώ· ἧς καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Νηλεὺς· Νηλέως δὲ καὶ Χλωρίδος Περικλόμενος· Περικλυμένου δὲ καὶ Πεισιδίκης Βῶρος· Βώρου δὲ καὶ Λυσιδίκης Πενθίλος· Πενθίλου δὲ καὶ Ἀγχιρρόης Ἀνδρόπομπος· Ἀνδροπόμπου δὲ καὶ Ἠνιόχης τῆς Ἀρμενίου τοῦ Ζευξίππου τοῦ Εὐμήλου τοῦ Ἀδμήτου Μέλανθος. οὗτος Ἡρακλείδων ἐπιόντων ἐκ Μεσσήνης εἰς Ἀθήνας ὑπεχώρησε, καὶ αὐτῷ γίνεται παῖς Κόδρος.

Codrus was of the line of Deucalion, as Hellanicus says. For Deucalion and Pyrrha (or as some say, Zeus and Pyrrha) were the parents of Hellen. Hellen and Othreis had Xouthos, Aiolos, Doros and Zenopatra. Aiolos and Iphis, the daughter of Peneios, had Salmoneus. Salmoneus and Alkidike had Tyro. She and Poseidon had Nēleus. Nēleus and Chloris had Periklumenos. Periklumenos and Peisidike had Boros. Boros and Lysidike had Penthilos. Penthilos and Agchirroe had Andropompus. Andropompus and Henioche, the daughter of Zeuxippos son of Eumelos son of Admetos, had Melanthus. Having been attacked by the Herakleidae, he went from Messenia to Athens, and there he had his son Codrus. (Hellanicus *FGrHist* 5 F125)

According to Hellanicus, the Codrids were neither Ionian nor Athenian. Ethnically, they seem to have been Aeolians, descended ultimately from Hellen's son Aiolos. The Ionians, on the other hand, were said to have sprung from a different line of the family, tracing their descent back to the eponymous Ion, who is said to have been Xouthos' son. Different versions of the Hellenic genealogy are known from different sources,²⁶ but it is significant that within Hellanicus' own schema the Ionians and the Codrids were ethnically and genealogically distinct. This has profound implications for the Ionian cities of Ionia. If their Codrid founders actually were of Aeolian rather than Ionian stock, this implies some kind of kinship between the Ionian and the Aeolian cities of Anatolia, and complicates the claims of 'Ionian' identity on which the Ionian League was founded.

Overall, the Codrids were represented as distinctly non-Athenian. Hecataeus tells us that the name 'Codrus' is in itself a non-Greek, barbarian word, and that the Peloponnese at the time of Codrus was inhabited by barbarians (*FGrHist* 1 F119). But Hellenic or not, it seems clear that the Codrids emphatically did not share in either the autochthonous or the Ionian heritage of the Athenians. After a long family history in Messenia, the Codrids migrated to Athens in the time of Melanthus. Geographically, the

²⁶ Hellenic genealogies are presented in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* and Euripides' *Ion*, amongst other texts. These are discussed, and helpfully laid out in genealogical diagrams, in Hall 1997: 40–51.

Codrids are also represented as distinctly non-Athenian. After a long family history in Messenia, they migrated to Athens in the time of Melanthus only because they were driven out by the returning Heracleidae. This image of the Codrids as being notably not-Athenian was taken up by later authors. Writing sometime later, Pausanias followed Hellanicus' account, and claimed that the Codrids were not properly Ionian (7.2.3). Only their mother, he tells us, was Ionian, whilst their father was from Pylos. This Pylian background of the Codrids might dovetail neatly with stories of Pylian foundations such as that told by Mimnermus (Mimnermus F9 IEG; see [Chapter 6](#)). It was, however, in direct contrast to the accounts of Ionian origins.

The Ionian migrants led by the Codrid kings are also portrayed as having more complex origins than we might initially expect. Like the Codrids, they are conspicuously not Attic in origin, having migrated to Athens from the Peloponnese after being displaced by the return of the Heracleidae. They were therefore thought to have migrated to Attica at roughly the same time as the Codrids. Unlike the Codrids, however, they were said not to have come from Messenia, but rather from Achaea. Herodotus tells the story briefly, suggesting that the Ionians were not originally a Hellenic people, but non-Greek Pelasgians. They only assumed the name of a Hellenic *ethnos* when they adopted the eponymous Ion as their leader:

Ἴωνες δὲ ὅσον μὲν χρόνον ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ οἴκεον τὴν νῦν καλεομένην Ἀχαιῖν, καὶ πρὶν ἢ Δαναόν τε καὶ Ξούθον ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Πελοπόννησον, ὡς Ἕλληνες λέγουσι, ἐκαλέοντο Πελασγοὶ Αἰγιάλες, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἴωνος τοῦ Ξούθου Ἴωνες.

These Ionians, as long as they were in the Peloponnese, lived in what is now called Achaea, and before Danaus and Xouthos came to the Peloponnese, as the Greeks say, they were called Aegialian Pelasgians. They were named Ionians after Ion the son of Xouthos. (Herodotus 7.94²⁷)

This idea of the Ionians coming from Achaea is also mentioned by Timotheus of Miletus, who also states that the people of the twelve Ionian cities were originally from Achaea (θρέψας αὐτῶν δωδεκατεῖχος / λαοῦ πρωτεύς ἐξ Ἀχαιῶν: F791 Hordern, lines 235–6).²⁸ Ephorus takes this idea to its logical conclusion, by suggesting that the migrants who colonised Ionia not only came from Achaea originally, but were ethnically Achaeans. It seems that the 'Ionian' migrants, much like the Codrids, were neither straightforwardly Ionian from an ethnic or genealogical perspective, nor straightforwardly natives of Attica.

²⁷ The same story is alluded to briefly in Herodotus 1.145. ²⁸ See Hordern 2002 for Timotheus.

φησὶ δ' Ἐφορος τοὺς κατασχόντας τὴν Λακωνικὴν Ἡρακλείδας, Εὐρυσθένη τε καὶ Προκλῆ, διελεῖν εἰς ἕξ μέρη καὶ πολίσαι τὴν χώραν. μίαν μὲν οὖν τῶν μερίδων τὰς Ἀμύκλας ἐξαίρετον δοῦναι τῷ προδόντι αὐτοῖς τὴν Λακωνικὴν καὶ πείσαντι τὸν κατέχοντα αὐτὴν ἀπελθεῖν ὑπόσπονδον μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν εἰς τὴν Ἰωνίαν.

Ephorus says that when Eurysthenes and Prokles of the Heraklid line took hold of it [Laconia], they divided it into six parts and founded cities on the land. They picked out one of the parts, Amyclae, and gave it to the man who had betrayed Laconia to them, and persuaded the man who then held it to go under a truce with the Achaeans to Ionia. (Ephorus *FGrHist* 70 F117)

This idea of the Ionians originating in Achaea rather than Athens persisted through the centuries. It was taken up later by Pausanias, who offers us a potential explanation for the name of the cult of Poseidon Heliconios at the Panionion. He claims that the name was taken from Helice, the town in Achaea supposedly named after Ion's wife (Paus 7.6.8–9). There is a clear tradition here, whereby the story of the Ionian Migration to Ionia was prefigured by a prequel migration from Achaea to Attica.²⁹ The origins of the Codrids and the origins of the Ionians, therefore, were distinct. The relationship between the two was far from straightforward, and this ambiguity fed back into the myths of the Ionian Migrations.

Ionians, however, seem to have comprised only a portion of the migrants. Many of the texts explicitly state that the migrants to Ionia were not all Ionian, while some argue that they were not Ionian at all. We have already considered Herodotus' account in [Chapter 4](#), in which he casts the migrants as a motley crew including Dorians, Abantes, Pelasgians and Minyans as well as Ionians, and goes on to discredit the concept of 'pure-blooded' Ionians as best he can (Hdt 1.146–7). Speaking not about the Ionian Migration as a whole but instead focusing on one city, Hellanicus also indicates that the migrants were not necessarily Ionian. According to him, the founders of Priene were not Ionian at all, but rather Cadmeans from Thebes (οἱ Πριηνεῖς, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος. ἢ οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἀπὸ Κάδμου: *FGrHist* 4 F101). Similarly, the sixth-century Teian poet Anacreon seems to have claimed that a Minyan founded his city (according to Strabo 14.1.3). This idea seems to have been taken up by Pherecydes in his story about the Boeotian hero Athamus founding Teos:

Τέως παρὰ δ' Φερεκύδει καὶ τοῦνομα τῆς Ἰωνικῆς πόλεως . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ τέως, ὁ γὰρ Ἀθάμας, φησὶν, ἀναχωρῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας, εὐρὼν Ἄρεα τὴν θυγατέρα ἀθύρουσαν καὶ

²⁹ It is interesting that Strabo turned the argument around again by adding a third migration – a prequel to the prequel. He argues (8.7.1) that the Ionians did leave Achaea to settle in Attica, but that this migration was in fact a return, as the Ionians had previously left Attica to go to Achaea. Instead of the return of the Heracleidae, we are given the return of the Ionians.

λίθους συμφοροῦσαν τοὺς νῦν ὄντας ἐν Τέῳι, ἤρετο· ‘ταῦτα τί ποιεῖς; ἡ δὲ εἶπε· ‘τέως σὺ ἐζήτεις ἵνα πόλιν κτίσῃς, ἡῦρον’. ἀφ’ οὗ ἀνακινήθεις τὴν πόλιν ὠνόμασε Τέω.

‘Teos’ also found in Pherecydes as the name of the Ionian city . . . derived from the word: ‘while’ [τέως]. For Athamas, he says, coming back from the countryside, found his daughter Area playing by collecting together the stones now in Teos. He asked: ‘What are you doing with these?’ And she said: ‘While [τέως] you were looking for a place to found your city, I have found one.’ Moved by this, he named the city Teos. (Pherecydes *FGrHist* 3 F102)

The texts that tell the story of Colophon’s foundation also indicate a non-Ionian origin for the migrants (see [Chapter 6](#)). The fragment of Mimnermus follows the schema of an Ionian Migration story in several ways: it describes a violent migration and conquest of the indigenous people, and links the migrants to the heroic line of Nēleus (Mimnermus F9 *IEG*). However, in this poem Mimnermus claims that the migrants who came to Colophon were not from Athens, but rather from Pylos, and that they were led by the Pylian hero Andraimon.³⁰ There is no explicit mention here of the ethnicity of the group in question, but the Messenians were traditionally thought of as either Dorians or, before this, Pelasgians. Mimnermus therefore leaves no space for the Ionians in his story of migration to Colophon. The foundation tradition that tells of Manto founding the city presents a different account again of Colophon’s origins. However, these texts also fail to recognise any Ionian or Athenian involvement in the migration. Antimachus of Teos, Hesiod and Pherecydes of Leros all indicate that the city’s founder was the prophetess Manto. Manto was a Theban, and her husband Rhacius was variously said to be from either Mycenae or Crete. In the foundation myths of Colophon, therefore, different migrations were suggested by different authors. None of the migrants, however, appear to be Ionian. From these texts, therefore, it seems that the ‘Ionian Migration’ was not always described as a purely Ionian affair, whether in relation to the migration as a whole or when discussing the foundation of individual cities.

It is unfortunate that so little has survived of Panyassis’ *Ionika*. This work was devoted primarily to the foundation and histories of the Ionian cities, and as an early fifth-century text written by a Halikarnassian, it would have been an extremely useful source for how people in the eastern Aegean may have represented the Ionian Migrations.³¹ The impression gained from the

³⁰ The name of the expedition leader is not preserved in the same fragment as the main story (F10), but Strabo does mention specifically (14.1.3) that Mimnermus named the leader as Andraimon.

³¹ See Huxley 1969: 177–8 for a brief introduction to Panyassis, and Matthews 1974 for a more detailed discussion of Panyassis as well as his surviving fragments.

surviving evidence is inconclusive. According to the *Suda*, Panyassis' poem was centrally concerned with the story of the Ionian Migration and the role of the Codrids within it:

ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλείαδα ἐν βιβλίοις 14, εἰς ἔπη 9000, Ἴωνικά ἐν πενταμέτρῳ, ἔστι δὲ τὰ περὶ Κόδρον καὶ Νηλέα καὶ τὰς Ἴωνικὰς ἀποικίας, εἰς ἔπη 7000.

He wrote a *Heracleias* in fourteen books consisting of 9,000 verses, and an *Ionika* in pentameter, which is about Codrus and Neileus and the Ionian settlements [ἀποικίας], and consists of 7,000 verses. (*Suda* s.v. Πανύασις (Adler no. P 248))

However, the *Suda* was of course written some fifteen centuries after Panyassis lived and died, and its claims may not necessarily be accurate. Indeed, of the three passages that can be attributed to the *Ionika*, none seems to deal with the Codrids or the Ionian Migration. Fragment F24 seems to be concerned with the establishment of the Thesmophoria; fragment F29 is a short line on the issue of conflict and strife (see note 32 below); and fragment F25 offers an alternative, non-Ionian version of the origins of Smyrna:

Πανύασις δὲ φησι Θείαντος βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων, ὃς ἔσχε θυγατέρα Σμύρναν. αὕτη κατὰ μῆνιν Ἀφροδίτης (οὐ γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐτίμα) ἴσχει τοῦ πατρὸς ἔρωτα, καὶ συνεργὸν λαβοῦσα τὴν τροφὸν ἀγνοοῦντι τῷ πατρὶ νύκτας δώδεκα συνευνάσθη. ὁ δὲ ὥς ᾗσθετο, σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἐδίωκεν αὐτήν: ἡ δὲ περικαταλαμβανομένη θεοῖς ᾗζατο ἀφανὴς γενέσθαι. θεοὶ δὲ κατοικτεῖραντες αὐτήν εἰς δένδρον μετέλλαξαν, ὃ καλοῦσι σμύρναν. δεκαμηνιαῖω δὲ ὕστερον χρόνῳ τοῦ δένδρου ῥαγέντος γεννηθῆναι τὸν λεγόμενον Ἀδωνιν

Panyassis spoke about Thias, king of Assyria, who had a daughter Smyrna. Because of the wrath of Aphrodite (for she did not honour the goddess), Smyrna conceived a passion for her father, and working with her nurse she contrived to go to bed with her father for twelve nights without him realising. But when he realised it was she, he drew his sword and pursued her, and as she was being caught up she prayed to the gods that she might become invisible. So the gods, having mercy, turned her into the tree which they call smyrna [myrrh]. Ten months afterwards the tree ruptured and Adonis, as he is called, was born. (Panyassis, *Ionika* F25 Matthews)

This fragment does not deal directly with the foundation of the city of Smyrna, but seems likely to have been included within a wider discussion about the origin of the city and its name.³² The story tells of the birth of the hero Adonis, following an incestuous union between Smyrna and her father.³³

³² Matthews 1974: 120–5. The strangeness of this story of Smyrna, given that Panyassis is supposed to have been writing about the Codrids in his *Ionika*, is discussed in Schmid 1947: 36–43.

³³ The tale of Adonis' parentage was widely told in later antiquity, with the name of his hapless mother sometimes given as Myrrha. See Plutarch, *Parallela minora* 22, Ovid *Metamorphoses* 10.298ff, and Antoninus Liberalis 34.

The location of the story appears to be in Assyria, and it is unclear how Panyassis would have connected the figure of Smyrna with the city in Ionia. However, if the attribution of $\epsilon 25$ to the *Ionika* is correct, the inclusion of this story about Smyrna would have reflected back on the city of Smyrna in some way. As discussed in [Chapter 6](#), the name of the city was also sometimes linked to that of an Amazon – a story that would have reflected on the city in a very particular way in the light of Athenian political rhetoric. Panyassis' story of the city's namesake also would have raised unconventional associations and connotations – of oriental, transgressive and feminine origins, rather than the violent Athenian colonists of the Ionian Migration. The surviving fragments of Panyassis, then, do not bear out the tagline in the *Suda*. If anything, rather than an account of Codrid and Ionian foundations, Panyassis might have presented an alternative view of Smyrna which owed its name to an Assyrian princess and the mother of an Eastern god with a mystery cult. While we cannot be sure about the content of the *Ionika* given the limits of the evidence available, this is nonetheless significant.

Texts from later periods show that this vision of a multi-ethnic and non-exclusively Ionian migration retained its appeal for centuries. Pausanias, for example, states that the overall expedition included Thebans under the command of Philotas and Minyans from Orchomenos as well as Ionians (Paus 7.2.3). He also tells us that Teos was originally inhabited by Minyans from Orchomenos (7.3.6), that Phocaea was colonised by people from Phokis (7.4.10), and that the Clazomenians were mostly comprised of Cleonians and Phliasians rather than Ionians (7.3.9). Similarly, Strabo writes that Thebans were involved in the foundations of Teos and Priene, Boeotians had a hand in the establishment of Teos, and that a mixed group went to Chios (σύμμικτον . . . πλῆθος; Strabo 14.1.3). He also follows Mimnermus in positing a Pylian origin for the migrants to Colophon, claims that Erythrae was a colony from a town of the same name in the Argolid (9.2.12), and also reports that the Chians themselves claimed to be descended from Pelasgians who migrated from Thessaly (13.3.3). Diodorus Siculus suggests an Aeolian founder for Samos, in the form of Kydrolaos, the *oikist* of Lebedus (5.81.8). An even more striking tradition is preserved for the foundation of Ephesus by Malakos, as quoted by Athenaeus (*FGrHist* 552 F1). According to Malakos, Ephesus was not founded by a legitimate son of Codrus and was not the seat of a pan-Ionian kingship. Rather, the city was established by runaway slaves from Samos. Nothing is explicitly mentioned about the ethnicity of these slaves, but it seems unlikely that they would have been considered true Ionians with this lineage. In these later texts, then, we see a similar picture emerging to what we find in the earlier authors. The people who migrated to Ionia and

founded the Ionian cities were not all Ionian, and in some cities they may not have even been Ionian at all.

While the myth of the Ionian Migration was certainly used by Athens to justify its control over Ionia, it is evident that the Ionians themselves had something of a different view. The passages considered so far in this chapter have argued that the Codrids were neither Ionian nor Athenian; that the main body of migrants were diverse rather than purely Ionian; and that even those who were Ionian were not from Attica. It is significant that these texts were mostly written by people from the eastern Aegean. Herodotus, Hellanicus, Ephorus, Mimnermus, Antimachus, Pherecydes, Timotheus, Anacreon and Panyassis were all from either Ionia or the areas immediately neighbouring Ionia. None were from the western Aegean or from Athens, although they may have worked in Athens later in their careers. Timotheus, Ephorus and Herodotus point out the non-Athenian and even the non-Ionian origins of the 'Ionian' migrants themselves, undermining Athenian claims to the leadership of the Ionians. Hellanicus did something similar, describing the non-Athenian and non-Ionian origins of the Codrids, and laying out a past for the dynasty that was distinct from that of the Ionians. Herodotus, Antimachus, Anacreon, Pherecydes, Mimnermus and perhaps also Panyassis all presented the migrations to Ionia as not characteristically Ionian – involving other ethnic groups and originating in other cities and regions in addition to Athens. Overall, then, eastern Aegean authors do not seem to have fallen into line with the typical Athenian view of the Ionian Migrations. Instead, they considered their cities to have been founded by migrants from many different areas and coming from many different ethnic groups.

This does not amount to an outright denial of the Ionian Migration, or a denial that Athens and Ionians had some part to play in the foundations of the Ionian cities. Rather, the overall image is one of diversity and plurality, directly contrasting with the more simplistic Athenian narrative. It is possible that the stories told by eastern Aegean authors reflected a political stance. Those written from the mid-fifth century onwards in particular may have been partly informed by an anti-Athenian perspective, given the aggressive policies of the Delian League at this time. Just as Athenian authors used the story of the Ionian Migrations to further the claims of Athens in the eastern Aegean, eastern Aegean authors may also have used foundation myths as a way to counter those claims. I am not arguing here that this was necessarily the case for every author, or that it was a conscious policy in the eastern Aegean. After all, some of the authors considered here, such as Mimnermus and Antimachus, wrote sometime before the period of

Athenian expansion and so their versions of the migration cannot be seen as reactions against the Athenian version of the myth. Stories of non-Ionian migration were in circulation in Ionia for some centuries before the Athenian-backed official story of the Athenian and Codrid expedition. However, it is clear that classical authors from Ionia and the eastern Aegean took up these stories and continued to represent a complex and multi-ethnic migration, in spite of the Athenian political rhetoric of the time. This may not necessarily have been a deliberate or aggressive anti-Athenian stance, but it was at the very least a rejection of the simplistic Athenian model. It would not be surprising, however, if these authors had adopted a consciously anti-Athenian approach, as this would not have been out of place in classical Ionia. In general, it seems that Athenian rule did not sit easily on the Ionian cities, and most of them revolted from the Delian League at some stage or other (see above). In the classical period, eastern Aegean authors would have been writing against a backdrop of Ionian resistance to Athenian rule. It would not altogether be surprising if this fact contributed to the continuing popularity of foundation stories telling of migrations that were multi-ethnic, not particularly Ionian, and certainly not very Athenian.

The nature of the Ionian League

The myth of the Ionian Migration does have the potential to offer a unifying narrative for the Ionian cities, positing a shared heritage and ancestry from the Codrids and Athens. And yet, when the accounts written by authors from the eastern Mediterranean are examined, they seem to reject this in favour of a more diverse and plural field of foundation traditions. The Ionian Migration, we hear, was neither Ionian nor a single migration. Instead, we are told of many different movements of people from different places, only some of whom are said to be Ionian, and even these not necessarily from Attica. Foundation stories, therefore, do not seem to have been used by these Ionian and Anatolian authors in order to express their collective identity through a common heritage. Rather, they used their foundation myths to articulate their varied origins and distinct pasts. When we consider the nature of Ionian identity, therefore, it appears that ethnic and geographical factors played a less important role than we might initially suppose. Whilst a shared Ionian ethnicity and a shared Ionian location were certainly necessary criteria for membership of the Ionian League, they were clearly not sufficient. Indeed, there were a number of *poleis* that were Ionian

both by ethnicity and by geography, and yet were excluded from the Ionian League. One example of this is Magnesia on the Maeander. Magnesia was a polis of some size and note by the archaic period, and was independent from the other Ionian cities. Its exclusion from the League indicates that being ethnically Ionian and located within Ionia was not enough. Being part of the Ionian collective identity required something more.

The Ionian League itself is the most obvious and long-lived expression of collective Ionian identity. The key to this identity, therefore, may lie in the nature and functions of the League. This issue has been the subject of some debate, with discussions focusing on whether the League was primarily religious or political.³⁴ However, the separation of cult and politics is a modern distinction, and one that does not always map neatly onto the ancient world. In addition, the functions of the League are likely to have changed over time, evolving in response to the changing historical context. However, it is possible to consider the significance of both the political and religious aspects of the League in the archaic and classical periods.

By the mid-sixth century, it seems that representatives from the Ionian cities did meet at the Panionion to discuss important political questions. One instance of this that has been recorded was the meeting to discuss the Ionian response to the Persian invasion of 547 BC. By this time, the ideal of Ionian political unity had already been advanced, as two notable sages of the time are reported to have counselled collective action. Bias of Priene apparently encouraged the Ionians to join together as one political unit, and to quit Anatolia completely, settling instead in one pan-Ionian city in Sardinia. A little time earlier, before the campaigns of Harpagus had begun to wreak their havoc, Thales of Miletus seems to have urged a similar collective response – proposing that the Ionians join together under a single government and suggesting that Teos might be a suitable location for this federal government because of its central location (Hdt 1.170). However, the Ionians did not take this advice, choosing instead to remain as independent states, each with its own policies. When it came to facing Harpagus, the cities also reacted in different ways. Most fought against the Persians, without any great success. The Phocaeans, however, apparently decided to

³⁴ Interpretations of the Ionian League tend to focus either on its political and military aspects (e.g. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1906; Caspari 1915 and 1916; Roebuck 1955) or its ritual and cultic functions (Fogazza 1973; Emlyn-Jones 1980: 17; Bearzot 1983; Tausend 1992: 55–7 and 70–95). Kowalzig 2005 presents a more sophisticated argument whereby collective cult action itself was an important means of forging and enacting political unity. Crielaard 2009 summarises some of the key features of the League, but is extremely brief. Metcalfe 2005 discusses the League in the Hellenistic period.

abandon their city, some eventually returning but others founding settlements in the central Mediterranean (Hdt 1.164). The Teians did something similar, establishing a new city in the northern Aegean at Abdera (Hdt 1.168). Miletus, on the other hand, made peace with the Persians, agreeing terms with Harpagus similar to those previously reached with Croesus (Hdt 1.141). The League, therefore, certainly entailed a modicum of political unity – enough for there to be a collective forum for political discussion in times of need. There also seems to have been an ideal of Ionian political unity, proposed by some politicians but not widely embraced by their peers. Ideal or actual, any political unity in the mid-sixth century was limited, and, faced with the Persian invasion, the League stopped short of collective action.

The Ionian Revolt at the start of the fifth century could be seen as an instance of this collective action some decades later. However, the revolt was not limited to the Ionian League, and seems to have had wider support from other groups within western Anatolia. The Aeolians, the Carians, the Kaunians and the Paeonians also took part in the fighting.³⁵ Other groups, seeing a chance to rebel while the Persians were occupied in western Anatolia, also began revolts, and the Ionians were thus also supported by the Cypriotes and the settlements of the Hellespont and Propontis.³⁶ Finally, Athens and Eretria were also persuaded to join the campaign. It is true that they were both ethnic Ionian states, and ethnic solidarity has sometimes been suggested as a reason for their support of the revolt. Aristagoras of Miletus did indeed include an appeal to kinship in his speech to the Athenians, but this was only one amongst several reasons cited to join the revolt. Indeed, Aristagoras had previously approached the Spartans for support, despite their Dorian ethnicity (Hdt 5.49–54). The Ionian Revolt, therefore, was far from being a strictly Ionian affair, either in terms of ethnicity or the Ionian League.

Whatever its ideological basis, it has been argued from a practical perspective that the revolt nonetheless did still serve to bring the Ionians closer together. One argument advanced in favour of this is the supposed issuing of a specific series of electrum coins that seem to have been produced by the League to commemorate the revolt. However, on closer inspection it appears equally possible that the collective coinage may not have been minted as a result of closer Ionian ties, but was rather imposed on the Ionians because of the necessity of paying tribute to the Persians. In

³⁵ One of the earliest works of biography in Greek is the story of the Carian king Heracleides, who is described as taking a heroic part in the revolt. The biography was written by the Carian author Scylax of Karyanda.

³⁶ Herodotus 5.98, 103 and 123. For references relating to the Ionian Revolt, see [Chapter 3](#).

addition, the coinage does not appear to have been uniform throughout the Ionian cities – different images appeared on the obverses of the coins produced at the various cities.³⁷ Of course, the joint military actions of the revolt itself have also been advanced as instances of unified action. However, even when they did agree to engage in a campaign together, it seems that the Ionians were unable or unwilling to come together under a single military commander. The battles fought in Cyprus and at the final decisive defeat at Lade are cases in point. On Cyprus, command of the fleet was divided between the Ionians and the Cypriotes, while at Lade the Ionians only submitted to the centralised command of Dionysius of Phocaea for seven days before rejecting his authority.³⁸ For most of the participants, embarking on the Ionian Revolt seems to have been an opportunistic rather than a premeditated action, and motivated by strategic concerns rather than by an ideal of Ionian unity. The Ionian League may therefore have entailed political solidarity and the ideal of political unity, but this rarely seems to have gone much beyond the ideal into practice.

The League did certainly involve collective action in the sphere of cult and ritual, however. The main expression of this seems to have been the festival of the Panionia, which Herodotus says was celebrated by the Ionians jointly at the Panionion sanctuary in honour of Poseidon Heliconios (Herodotus 1.148).³⁹ In the area where the Panionion was located, near modern Güzelçamlı (for more on which, see below), a fourth-century inscription has been found which specifies certain regulations for the correct celebration of the Panionia. The inscription can be found in Kleiner *et al.* 1967: 45–63. It will be discussed in more detail below. Each city in the League was required to contribute to the collective sacrifice, which was effected in union (ἐν χορῶι: line 8), and penalties were imposed for those who did not produce the correct contribution. Although this inscription seems to imply universal participation in the festival by members of the League, it may in fact indicate the opposite. A decree issuing penalties for the neglectful may have been necessary precisely because members did not always take part and pay the required contributions. The Panionia may, in some years, also have involved the staging of the Panionion Games. Little is known about these games, save for the brief reference to them in the Marmor Parium (A.27).

³⁷ For the ‘Ionian Revolt coinage’, see Gardner 1911 and 1913; Kraay 1976; Kienast 2002: 14–15. For the argument that it is linked to the monetarisation of Persian tribute, see Wallinga 1984: 431 n45. Caspari 1916 points out that the coins ‘fall far short of constituting of proper federal coinage’, and ‘aptly illustrate the arrested state of development in which the League stood’.

³⁸ Cyprus: Herodotus 5.108–10; Lade: Herodotus 6.11–12.

³⁹ Von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1906: 45; Kowalzig 2005. See Herodotus 1.145.

This inscription does not offer much information, but does establish that the games must have been in place by the third century. They seem to have been an enduring feature of the festival, as Strabo (8.7.2) notes that the festival was honoured in this way in his own time.

However, the importance of the Panionia as a festival should not be overestimated. Herodotus is our main source for the festival during our period, and it is possible that it did not yet enjoy the popularity it seems to have had later. For a start, it may not have had a long history at this stage. Although the rites of Poseidon Heliconios are mentioned in the *Iliad* (20.403ff.), Homer does not connect the cult to either the Ionians in general or the Panionion in particular. In addition, the Panionia may not have been the only festival that purported to bring the Ionian cities together. Writing not long after Herodotus, Thucydides neglects to mention the festival at all when he describes pan-Ionian festivals elsewhere. Interestingly, he mentions instead a festival of the Ephesia at Ephesus as the place where the Ionians assembled, and where athletic and poetic contests took place (3.104; Thucydides seems to have been followed in this by Dionysius of Halikarnassos 4.25.4-5). Although it has been suggested that the festival moved to Ephesus after the destruction of the sanctuary on Mount Mykale, there is also evidence that it continued to be celebrated at the Panionion itself (see below). It is possible, therefore, that there was more than one pan-Ionian festival, with rival events held at different locations. The possible existence of competing pan-Ionian festivals in the early classical period parallels what we know of League unity and cohesion at the time: the idea certainly existed, but the practical realities of the situation were much more complex.

Ethnic, geographical, political and religious factors all seem to have been relevant to membership of the Ionian League and therefore to collective Ionian identity. However, none of these elements seems to have been completely crucial or central. Ethnicity and geography were necessary but not sufficient, while political and religious unity were ideals rather than actual. So what, then, was at the heart of Ionian collective identity in the archaic and classical periods? To answer this, it is necessary to draw once more on foundation myths. The Ionian cities may have rejected the myth of a single shared origin in the form of the Ionian Migration, preferring instead multiple narratives of diverse origins. However, the Ionian League itself also had foundation myths. Stories were told not just about origins of individual cities and the Ionians in general, but also about the establishment of the League in particular. In these, perhaps something may be discerned about the meaning of Ionian collective identity.

The Melian War and the Panionion

(Ion) isque eas colonias in Asiam deduxit et Cariae fines occupavit ibique civitates amplissimas constituit Ephesum, Miletum, Myunta, (quae olim ab aqua est devorata; cuius sacra et suffragium Milesiis Iones attribuerunt), Prienen, Samum, Teon, Colophona, Chium, Erythras, Phocaeam, Clazomenas, Lebedon, Meliten (haec Melite propter civium adrogantiam ab his civitatibus bello indicto communi consilio est sublata; cuius loco postea regis Attali et Arsinoes beneficio Zmyrnaeorum civitas inter Ionas est recepta).

Ion led those colonies to Asia Minor, occupied the land of Caria, and there he founded the most grand cities of Ephesus, Miletus, Myus (which has been long since submerged by water, and its sacred rites and votes assigned to the Milesians by the Ionians), Priene, Samos, Teos, Colophon, Chios, Erythrae, Phocaea, Clazomenae, Lebedus, and Melite. This Melite, on account of the arrogance of its citizens, was destroyed by the other cities in a war by general agreement, and afterwards in its place, through the kindness of King Attalus and Arsinoe, the city of the Smyrnaeans was admitted among the Ionians. (Vitruvius, *De architectura* 4.1.4)

Writing some six centuries or so after the events in question, the Roman author Vitruvius recounted the story of the Melian War as the founding moment of the Ionian League. He tells us that Melie (or Melite) had once been an Ionian city itself, but had become unpopular due to the arrogance of its citizens and so was eventually attacked and destroyed by its fellow Ionians. This, it appears, was the start of collective action and identity amongst the Ionians. The Melian War has been widely accepted by scholars as marking the establishment of the Ionian League.⁴⁰ Historical information about this event is scanty, however,⁴¹ and we may never know for sure the details of how and why the League was initially established. What we do

⁴⁰ This was first suggested by von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (1906: 38–46), and has been followed to a greater or lesser extent by others: Caspari 1915; Lenschau 1944; Roebuck 1955: 32; Cook 1962: 43; Shipley 1987: 29–31; Hall 2002: 67; Lohmann 2004 and 2012a; Herda 2006a; Crielaard 2009: 72. Tausend 1992 argues that while the Melian War may have been an important episode in League history, it may not have been the founding moment. Bearzot 1983 argues that the Lelantine War, rather than the Melian War, may have marked the establishment of the League, as it may have been the point at which the Ionians of Ionia made a decision to split from Ionians elsewhere. This argument depends on the initial collectivity of the Ionians all around the Aegean, however, and there is simply not enough evidence to argue this at present.

⁴¹ It has also been suggested that the Melian War should be seen as being related to the wider events of the Lelantine War. Miletus is known to have sided with Eretria during this conflict, while the Samians sided with Chalcis (Hdt 5.99). Given that these two cities were ranged on opposing sides of the Melian War, it is therefore possible that this local conflict may have been loosely related to events elsewhere in the Aegean. For a discussion of this, see Shipley 1987: 37–9.

know, however, is that the story of the Melian War was in circulation for much of classical antiquity, and that it offered a potential moment of foundation for the Ionian League. Here, as throughout the rest of this book, I am less immediately concerned with the historical facts surrounding the actual foundation of the League than with the way this foundation was described and portrayed through mythic narratives. The historical accuracy or otherwise of Vitruvius' Melian story is therefore of less relevance here than the ways in which the story was told and its social significance during the archaic and classical periods.⁴²

The story of the Melian War was indeed told during the archaic and classical periods, as is evident from a Hellenistic inscription from Priene.⁴³ The inscription records the outcome of a border dispute between Priene and Samos at the end of the third century BC, adjudicated by the Rhodians. The disputed territory was on the Mykale peninsula, and both sides claimed that the settlements of Melie/Karion, Dryoussa and Phygela had been granted to them in the aftermath of the war against Melie. To support their case, it seems that Samians cited the work of a little-known classical historian, Maeandrios of Miletus (line 122). However, the inscription records that none of the other local histories consulted – which included works by Ouliades, Olympichos, Douris, Euagon (all from Samos), Kreophylos, Eualkes (both from Ephesus), and Theopompus of Chios – seem to have corroborated Maeandrios' account. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the Rhodian judges found in favour of Priene. The outcome of the arbitration aside, this inscription is valuable evidence for the foundation tradition connected with the Melian War. All of these Ionian-born authors, it appears, wrote about the subject during the archaic and classical periods. That these writings have not survived until the present day is unfortunate, but it is significant in itself that they once existed.

The inscription from Priene indicates, therefore, that there was once a rich foundation tradition within archaic and classical Ionia that told of the Melian War and early Ionian unity. It can also tell us something about this tradition. The story implied by the inscription mirrors that of Vitruvius, in that it is consistent with the idea of a war in which Melie was destroyed and

⁴² The Marmor Parium (A.27) offers an alternative foundation myth for the Ionian League and the Panionion, suggesting that they were both initiated in 1086/1085 at the time of the Ionian Migration. However, as already established, the myth of the Ionian Migration does not seem to have been particularly strong in Ionia itself during the archaic and classical periods. In addition, the Marmor Parium is Hellenistic in date, and cites no earlier sources to suggest that this version of the League's origins was in circulation in the archaic and classical periods.

⁴³ *I.Priene*, no. 37. For a discussion of this inscription, see Curty 1989.

its territory distributed amongst the other Ionian cities. However, the inscription also mentions some of the other territorial redistributions made as the result of the same war, involving Colophon losing territory, and Miletus both gaining and losing land. It therefore seems that the war might have been a bit more complex than Vitruvius suggests – different Ionian cities are likely to have fought on different sides, with a complex redistribution of land at the war's conclusion.⁴⁴

There also remains some uncertainty as to whether Melie was originally an Ionian or a Carian city: although Vitruvius calls it Ionian, the inscription from Priene tells us that in the Hellenistic period Karion was another name for Melie (e.g. lines 9–10, 23, 26, 66, 73 etc.) and Hecataeus seems to suggest in his *Genealogiae* that Melie was a Carian city (Hecataeus *FGrHist* 1 F11). However, we cannot be sure whether this was part of Hecataeus' original text, or whether it is an inference on the part of Stephanos of Byzantium, who preserved this fragment of Hecataeus for posterity. Contrary to this, the fourth-century historian Theopompus implies that Melie was an Ionian city, or at least a city founded by the descendants of people from Colophon (*FGrHist* 115 F103). This is implied by the mythic genealogy Theopompus gives us for the eponymous Melia – as a daughter of the prophet Mopsus of Colophon (Mopsus and the Colophonian foundation myths are discussed in detail in the previous chapter).⁴⁵ Irrespective of any putative *metropolis*–colony relationship between Colophon and Melie, there does seem to have been some kind of connection between these two *poleis*. Colophon fought on Melie's side during the war, and as a result ceded territory in the peace agreement. And in addition, Colophon seems to have had territorial interests in the immediate area, as according to the dispute-resolving inscription from Priene, Colophon controlled the nearby settlement of Anaia before the Melian War (lines 59–60). But it was not only Colophon that had previously had a close relationship with Melie before the war. Miletus sided with it during the war itself, and the Rhodian arbitration inscription suggests that Priene was once allied with Melie in an earlier conflict against the people of the Batieneis (lines 44–8). Given that Melie was closely connected to cities of the later Ionian League through both military alliances and mythic

⁴⁴ Interestingly, another inscription has been found dating to 283/2 BC that records Lysimachus' judgment on the same dispute between Samos and Priene, this time deciding in favour of Samos (Welles 1934, no. 7 or *CIG* 2254). This inscription has been used to date the Melian War to some time around c. 700 BC, as it states that the original division of the territory is said to have happened before the time of the invasion of the Cimmerian king Lygdamis. For the Cimmerian invasions, see Chapter 3. See also Shipley 2013 for a discussion of this arbitration and the use of rhetoric in such disputes.

⁴⁵ Huxley 1960.

genealogies, it seems plausible that the city may indeed have been considered an Ionian settlement.

Whatever the original identity of Melie or its inhabitants, and whatever the configuration of the opposing sides, it nonetheless seems in this foundation tradition that the Melian War was a crucial moment for the Ionians. Even though the war itself might not have been a joint undertaking, the conclusion of the peace was said to bring about some kind of formal agreement between the states. Agreed boundaries were set in place between polis territories, and an official structure was put in place that mediated the relationships between the cities. The destruction of Melie was also said to have given the Ionians a location for their central meeting point: the Panionion.

This temple was dedicated to Poseidon Heliconios,⁴⁶ and was used for the celebration of the festival, and perhaps also the games, of the Panionia (discussed above). However, the sanctuary also had a political function, as this was where the Ionian states met together in council at crucial points such as the Persian conquest of Anatolia or before the Persians' punitive campaigns at the end of the Ionian Revolt.⁴⁷ Some uncertainty remains over the exact location of the Panionion sanctuary, but two potential sites have been identified, both near the modern village of Güzelçamlı on the north side of the Mykale peninsula (Figure 15).

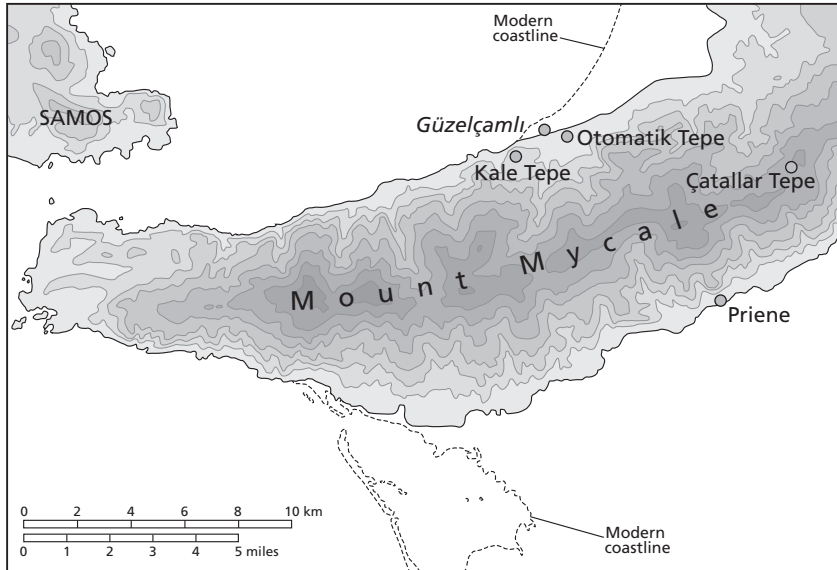
There can be little doubt that the Panionion was located in the Güzelçamlı area. The geography fits the descriptions of ancient authors, and at least one fourth-century inscription from the Panionion was discovered in the vicinity.⁴⁸ One likely candidate for the first and original location of the Panionion is the site of Çatallar Tepe, some five kilometres or so east of Güzelçamlı, on a terrace high in the Mykale range.⁴⁹ The remains of an archaic temple have been discovered here, which was in use during the late seventh and perhaps early sixth centuries BC. The temple was built over the

⁴⁶ Lenschau 1944 argues that the sanctuary was originally dedicated to Apollo. Bearzot 1983 suggests that while the Panionion was principally a sanctuary of Poseidon, a subsidiary cult of Apollo may have been added at some later point.

⁴⁷ See Herodotus 1.141 and 6.7 for the Panionion as the meeting place for the Ionian League at the time of Cyrus' invasion and towards the end of the Ionian Revolt respectively, and 1.148 for its cultic functions.

⁴⁸ Herda 2009: 48. One inscription has been published in Kleiner et al. 1967: 45–63 (and later emended in Sokolowski 1970). This may or may not be the same inscription as that mentioned by the traveller William Gell in the seventeenth century, which Gell claimed included the word 'Panionion' twice (Leake 1824: 260). A similar inscription is mentioned very briefly in Chandler 1775: 182, who regrets that he did not have the time to copy it out – although once more this inscription may be the same as those of Gell and Kleiner/Sokolowski.

⁴⁹ For the remains at Çatallar Tepe, see Lohmann 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2012a and 2012b.



15. Map of the northern Mykale peninsula and region, showing the different possible locations of the Panionion.

remnants of what seems to have been a sizeable settlement, stretching over an area of more than five hectares and enclosed within city walls of up to three metres wide. Both the city walls and the houses within them are poorly preserved, due partly to recent illegal excavations as well as to natural erosion and attrition. The pottery found across the settlement, where datable, belongs predominantly to the seventh century. This destruction of a fortified settlement around 600 BC and the subsequent construction of a sanctuary on its remains has been taken to suggest that this temple was once the Panionion, built over the razed city of Melie.⁵⁰

The temple itself was constructed mostly from mud brick on stone foundations, with marble facing on the walls and a tiled roof. Its plan might suggest use as a council chamber as well as for more conventional cultic activity (Figure 16). The temple was an east-facing hekatompedon, measuring exactly 100 Attic feet, divided into three areas. The first section was a pronaos with

⁵⁰ It is perhaps interesting to note that the temple was built, not over domestic remains, but on top of an earlier cult installation of the early seventh century. It lies directly underneath the cella of the later temple, suggesting that its builders consciously respected the sacred space of the earlier structure. The objects in the fill between the two temple floors were particularly rich, and included jewellery of precious metals, a stone statuette of a lion and a terracotta statuette of two warriors.



16. Plan of the archaic temple of the Panionion on Çatallar Tepe, showing different building phases.

Key for figure 16

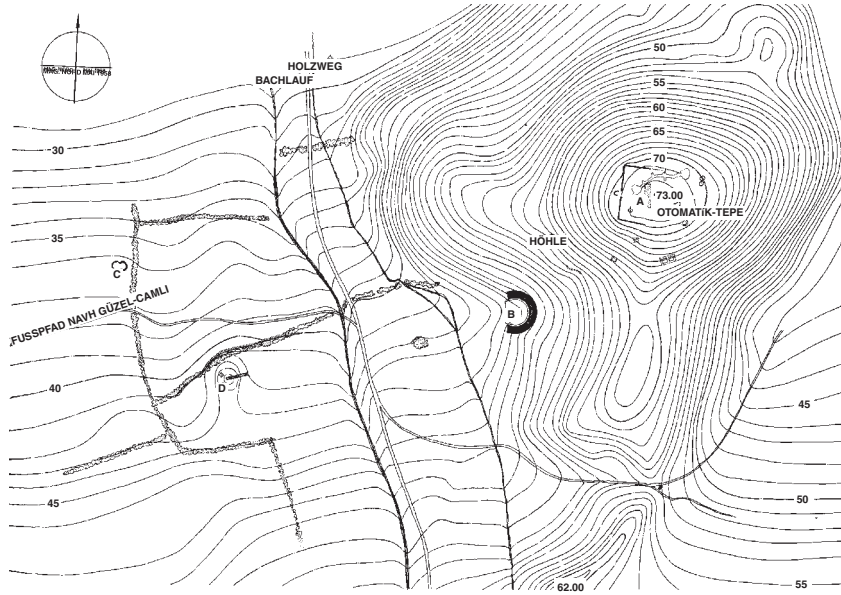
Light grey: seventh century

Medium grey: early sixth century (c. 560/600 BC)

Dark grey: second half of sixth century

columns in four rows of two; the second a roughly square cella; and the third a rectangular room entered separately from the north. This western room is of particular interest, as it has been identified as a *lesche* by the excavators. It seems to have been furnished with couches inlaid with ivory, stocked with symposium equipment such as drinking cups and a wine sieve, and its walls decorated with weapons and a bronze cuirass.⁵¹ The doorway to this room was wide (1.41 m), and decorated in marble. The use of this room for dining and entertaining suggests that the sanctuary could have hosted meetings of the Ionian League, where representatives of the cities would have sat in council. Although the temple was in use at the time of its destruction, it seems not to have been fully finished, as several of the column fragments have been smoothed but not yet fluted. The destruction seems to have happened in the mid-sixth century, as the latest datable object found on the temple floor was a kylix by the Attic painter Tleson. After this, the collapse of the roof and burning from a major conflagration suggests that the temple was violently

⁵¹ The excavators suggest that the closest parallel would be the late Geometric temple of Apollo at Halieis in the Peloponnese (Mazarakis Ainan 1997: 162–4).



17. Plan of Otomatik Tepe and the surrounding area.

Key for Figure 17

- A: altar and terrace wall (6th century)
- B: bouleuterion (4th century)
- C: remains of a tumulus (uncertain date)
- D: remains of a Roman structure

destroyed. This destruction horizon, the excavators have argued, could be due to the destruction of the Panionion by the armies of the general Harpagus during the Persian invasion.⁵²

The excavators of Çatallar Tepe suggest that at this point, in the mid-sixth century and following the Persian invasion, the sanctuary of the Panionion moved from this original location to the nearby site of Otomatik Tepe, directly east of the modern village of Güzelçamlı (Figure 17).⁵³ Between 1957 and 1960, excavations on the summit of Otomatik Tepe uncovered a large altar, measuring 4.26 by 17.78 metres.⁵⁴ The altar faced due east, and was constructed from local Mykale marble on top of a flat terrace. Both the terrace wall and the altar foundations seem to have been constructed some-

⁵² It should be noted that there is no firm evidence for Persian involvement in the destruction one way or the other, only arguments from plausibility. The west room seems to have been reused after the destruction, with an adjoining wall added to the structure.

⁵³ The hill is named for the machine guns that were installed there during the First World War.

⁵⁴ Kleiner et al. 1967: 22–8.

time during the sixth century.⁵⁵ No other building remains from this period were found on the terrace or elsewhere on Otomatik Tepe.⁵⁶ Due west of the altar across the valley lies the higher hill of Kale Tepe. On the summit of this mound are the remains of another fortified town, enclosed by a 1,460-metre-long city wall and with a fortified acropolis on the summit (Figure 18).⁵⁷ Most of the material from the settlement area suggests occupation in the eighth and seventh centuries, although some ceramic material and a fragmentary inscription from the sixth century indicates that the acropolis either continued in use or was reoccupied to a limited extent at a later date. The lower slopes of the hill seem to have been used as a necropolis, and the graves here have yielded finds significantly earlier than those of the settlement, including some Protogeometric pottery.

When the remains at Otomatik Tepe and Kale Tepe were first found, it was assumed that the city of Melie originally stood on Kale Tepe, and that the Panionion was built in the Melian territory at Otomatik Tepe, within sight of the ruined city. This has widely been replaced by the idea that Melie should instead be located at Çatallar Tepe, and that the first Panionion was built directly on top of it, before being destroyed by the invading Persians and subsequently relocated to Otomatik Tepe.⁵⁸ Whichever site may have originally been the 'first' Panionion, in the fourth century the sanctuary does indeed seem to have been located at or around Otomatik Tepe, as a bouleuterion was built at the foot of the hill at this time.⁵⁹ The festival of the Panionia also seems to have undergone some kind of revival or restructuring around this time. An inscription found in Güzelçamlı from the second half of the fourth century sets out a series of rules for the different cities contributing to the festival, and also seems to make reference to some kind of relocation.⁶⁰ There has been some debate whether this relocation refers to the move from Çatallar Tepe to Otomatik Tepe, or from the summit to the foot of Otomatik Tepe, or whether it implies a re-establishment of the

⁵⁵ While the construction techniques used in building the altar place it in the sixth century, the form of the altar may have been deliberately archaising, as it is similar to the seventh-century altar from the Heraion at Samos. See Kleiner et al. 1967: 28.

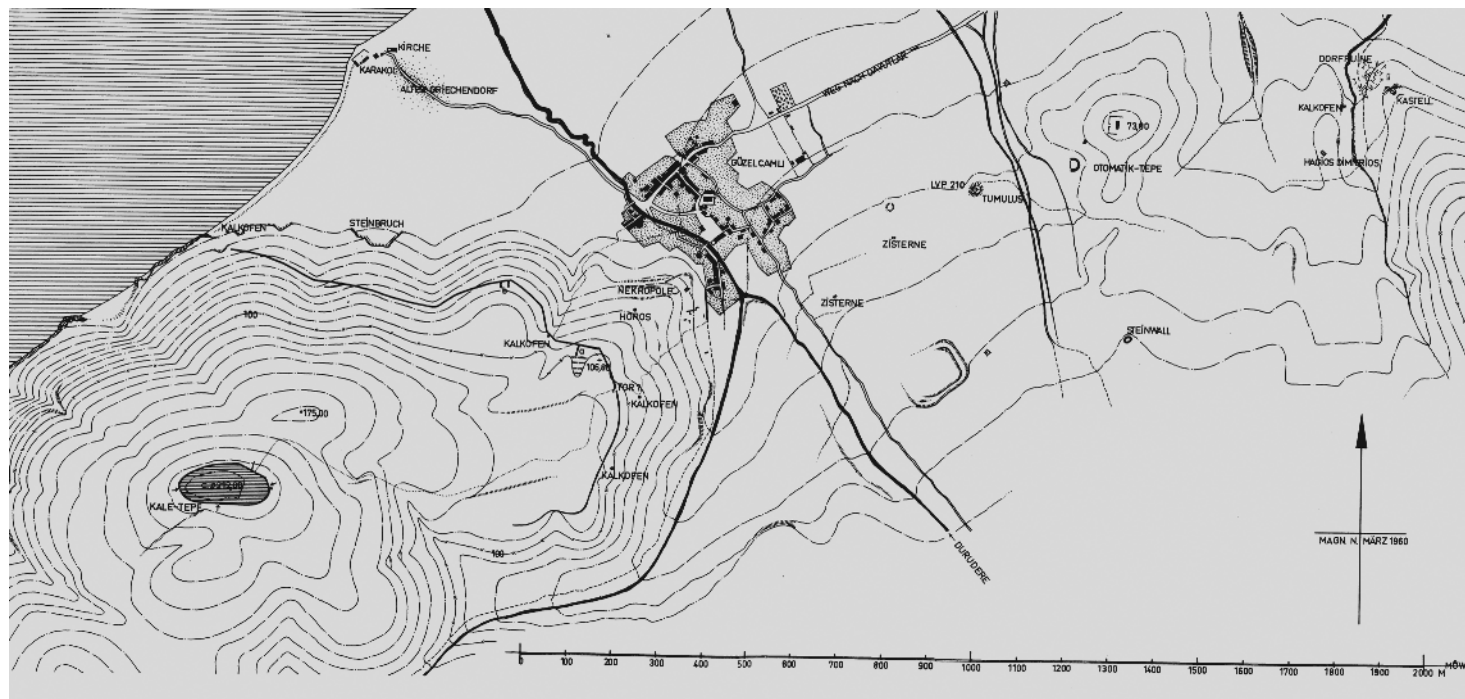
⁵⁶ It should be noted, however, that there are several archaic period remains in the immediate vicinity of Otomatik Tepe. In the valley south of the hill lie the remains of some Iron Age houses, while in the valley due west from Otomatik Tepe there is a small tumulus. Neither of these features has been properly investigated, and their dates remain uncertain (Kleiner et al. 1967: 39).

⁵⁷ For the remains on Kale Tepe, see Kleiner et al. 1967: 97–170.

⁵⁸ Herda 2006a has argued strongly that Çatallar Tepe was not the original site of the Panionion. See Lohmann 2012a for the alternative view.

⁵⁹ For the remains of the bouleuterion, see Kleiner et al. 1967: 28–37.

⁶⁰ See Kleiner et al. 1967: 45–63, and Sokolowski 1970, who offers an emended text. The cult regulations are discussed in Kowalzig 2005.



18. Plan of the area around Güzelçamlı, showing the locations of Kale Tepe and Otomatik Tepe.

festival at the Panionion itself after it was moved for some years to Ephesus.⁶¹ In any case, it seems likely that there was some amount of movement and relocation of the Panionia festival, if not also of the cult centre of the Panionion. This flexibility and mobility suggests something about the nature of the collective that kept the Panionion as its headquarters. The sanctuary of the Panionion, like the Ionian League itself, seems to have been a fluid and changeable thing.

What does all this tell us about Ionian collective identity? One of the recurring themes emerging from the story of the Melian War and from the wider traditions of the Panionion sanctuary associated with it is that of conflict. Conflict between Ionian cities marks the crucial founding moment of the League. It is conflict that leads to the first collective Ionian action in agreeing the peace terms, and it is conflict that literally established common ground for the Ionians in the form of their collective sanctuary, the Panionion. Violence and conflict, we have already seen in [Chapter 4](#), characterised some of the foundation myths of individual Ionian cities, notably those of Miletus. In this context, we saw that conflict could function as a mode of intercultural interaction, and could be a key process of forging a new multicultural society. In the case of collective Ionian identity, this is taken one step further. In the foundation tradition of the Melian War, conflict was not only one possible mode of interaction; it was a necessary prerequisite for the creation of the Ionian League. Fighting amongst themselves was a crucial part of what it meant to be Ionian.

Conflict and being Ionian: the case of Smyrna

The city of Smyrna is a good illustration of how inter-Ionian conflict was a central part of being Ionian. We have already mentioned the association of the name Smyrna in Panyassis' *Ionika* (above) – the city seems to have been connected mythically with the incestuous activities of an Assyrian dynasty. However, it was not these Eastern associations that make Smyrna such an interesting case study. After all, Ephesus also had unusual Eastern women featuring heavily in its mythical foundation, and this does not

⁶¹ The transfer of the festival of the Panionia to Ephesus is mentioned by Diodorus Siculus 15.49, and a re-establishment of the Panionion as a cult site is suggested in Strabo 8.7.2. Hornblower 1982b uses a passage from Thucydides (3.104) to argue that the Panionia can be regarded as one and the same as the Ephesia. Stylianou 1983 countered this convincingly by suggesting that the Ephesia was a separate festival, distinct from both the Panionia and the famous festival of Artemis of Ephesus, the Artemisia. Dillon 1997: 128–32 offers a very basic summary of the changing location and practices of the Panionia.

seem in any way to have compromised its Ionian identity. Smyrna, however, was ambiguously Ionian. It is not included in a number of different lists of the Ionian cities – it is conspicuously absent, for example, from the list of Ionian cities founded by Neileus in the Marmor Parium (A.27) as well as some lists in the literary sources.⁶² Herodotus also fails to mention it in his list of the different Ionian dialects (Hdt 1.142). However, Smyrna does seem to have been a member of the Ionian League in the classical period (Hdt 1.143.3), and was certainly a long-standing member by Hellenistic and Roman times.⁶³ The twelve cities of the League, we are told by Herodotus, usually formed an exclusive club, but made an exception for Smyrna when it requested permission to join.

How did Smyrna become Ionian? Under one mythic tradition, the city started out as an Aeolian settlement, and only became Ionian later by violence – when the Ionians attacked and conquered the city. We have already discussed the fragment of Mimnermus that recounted the violent migration to Colophon. The final two lines of this fragment shift the action from Colophon to Smyrna, to which Mimnermus tells us the migrants' attentions now turned:

ἡμεῖς δηῦτε Πύλον Νηλήιον ἄστὺ λιπόντες
 ἱμερτὴν Ἀσίην νηυσὶν ἀφικόμεθα:
 ἐς δ' ἔρατὴν Κολοφῶνα βίην ὑπέροπλον ἔχοντες
 ἐζόμεθ' ἀργαλέης ὕβριος ἡγεμόνες.
 κεῖθεν δ' Ἀστήεντος ἀπορνύμενοι ποταμοῖο
 θεῶν βουλῇ Σμύρνην εἴλομεν Αἰολίδα.

And so leaving Pylos, Nēleus' city, we arrived at longed-for [ἱμερτὴν] Asia with ships. And using over-aggressive force [βίην ὑπέροπλον] we settled ourselves in lovely [ἐρατὴν] Colophon, instigators of painful hubris [ὕβριος]. Setting out from there by the river Astēeis, through the will of the gods we captured Aeolian Smyrna. (Mimnermus F9 IEG)

This fragment is thought to be from a poem called the *Nanno*, and the work as a whole may only have mentioned the Smyrna campaign in passing. It is likely that the story was told in more detail in the *Smyrneis*. Two possible fragments survive from the *Smyrneis* (F13a IEG and possibly also F14 IEG), but neither of them seems to deal directly with the Ionian takeover – instead, they recount the part of Smyrnaean history when the city was attacked by

⁶² E.g. Strabo 14.1.3; Pausanias 7.2.5; Ael. VH 8.5.

⁶³ Strabo 14.1.4; Pausanias 7.5.1; Cadoux 1938: 68 no. 1. Ragone 1986 discusses Vitruvius' suggestion that Smyrna was enrolled into the League as a replacement for the destroyed Melie. This, he argues, must be an invention of later tradition.

the Lydians. We do not know, therefore, what Mimnermus may have said about the Colophonian conquest of the city. One significant point is that the fragment quoted above suggests that the capture of Smyrna was done in accordance with the will of the gods (θεῶν βουλῇ). The poem contrasts this divinely sanctioned conquest with the taking of Colophon, which is described in much more negative terms. In contrast with this fragment of Mimnermus, Herodotus' version of the story does not cast the Colophonians in a particularly flattering light:

σμύρνην δὲ ὧδε ἀπέβαλον Αἰολέες. Κολοφωνίους ἄνδρας στάσι ἐσσωθέντας καὶ ἐκπεσόντας ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ὑπεδέξαντο. μετὰ δὲ οἱ φυγάδες τῶν Κολοφωνίων φυλάξαντες τοὺς Σμυρναίους ὀρτὴν ἕξω τείχεος ποιευμένους Διονύσῳ, τὰς πύλας ἀποκλήσαντες ἔσχον τὴν πόλιν. βοηθησάντων δὲ πάντων Αἰολέων, ὁμολογίῃ ἐχρήσαντο τὰ ἔπιπλα ἀποδόντων τῶν Ἰώνων ἐκλιπεῖν Σμύρνην Αἰολέας. ποιησάντων δὲ ταῦτα Σμυρναίων ἐπιδιδίλοντο σφέας αἱ ἑνδεκα πόλεις καὶ ἐποιήσαντο σφέων αὐτέων πολίτας.

This is the way that the Aeolians lost Smyrna. They accepted in some men of Colophon, having lost out in civil strife and having been exiled from their fatherland. These Colophonian exiles waited until the Smyrnaeans were holding a festival to Dionysius outside the walls; then they shut the gates and took hold of the city. All the Aeolians came to their aid; and they made an agreement where the Aeolians would reclaim their property from the Ionians, and leave the city. When this was done, the other eleven cities divided the Smyrnaeans among themselves and made them citizens of their own. (Herodotus 1.150)

Herodotus portrays the capture of Smyrna not as a heroic military action, but one of deceit and trickery, undertaken by exiles (φυγάδες) and the losing party in Colophon's *stasis*. The contemporary Smyrnaeans, we are told, are descended from these cowards and political agitators, whilst the descendants of the original pious inhabitants of the city are scattered throughout the other Ionian cities. This story presents a particularly negative picture of the Smyrnaeans. They are neither 'proper' Smyrnaeans nor did they win their city through honourable means. Herodotus' colouring of the event may not have been a feature of other tellings of this story. When it is mentioned later by Pausanias, for example (7.5.1), no comment is made about the means by which the Ionians took Smyrna, only that they displaced the original Aeolian inhabitants.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ The *Suda* suggests a slightly different relationship between Colophon and Smyrna (s.v. τὸν Κολοφῶνα ἐπίθες (Adler no. T 765)). After mentioning the councils of the twelve original Ionian cities at the Panionion, the entry goes on to say that when the cities were split evenly on a

An alternative tradition of the ‘Ionianisation’ of Smyrna is hinted at in other texts. These suggest a connection between Smyrna and Ephesus, rather than Smyrna and Colophon, which they cast in terms of kinship rather than of conflict. As mentioned in the previous chapter, both Ephesus and Smyrna were said to have been originally occupied by Amazons. Ephorus (*FGrHist* 70 F114a) mentions Smyrna in his list of cities whose names came from Amazons, and in later periods this idea of an Amazonian foundation was taken up by Strabo (11.5.4 and 14.1.4) and Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 5.31.118). But the connection between Ephesus and Smyrna appears closer than simply that of a shared Amazonian past.⁶⁵ In the archaic period, Hipponax made reference to a suburban area in Ephesus that was known as Smyrna, and the seventh-century poet Callinus of Ephesus at one point is said to have referred to the Ephesians as Smyrnaeans in a prayer to Zeus (preserved in Strabo 14.1.4). However, the name of the suburb appears to have gone out of use by the first century BC or so, and Strabo had to make some attempts to reconstruct its location. Strabo argues that the Smyrnaeans themselves originally came from this part of Ephesus, and left from here to found the city of Smyrna, driving out the Leleges who had lived on the land previously. He accounts for the Colophonian conquest of Smyrna by claiming that the Aeolians then drove out the Ephesian colonists, who sought refuge at Colophon, only to return to Smyrna at a later date and drive out the Aeolians in their turn to reoccupy the city. Strabo’s complex history of Smyrnaean conquest and counter-conquest attempts to reconcile different traditions about the city’s past. However, the conclusion of this is Smyrna’s willing entry into the Ionian League, being led in (ἐναγαγόντων) by their kinsmen the Ephesians.

There seem to have been at least two traditions explaining why Smyrna became Ionian. The violent story of Colophonian conquest is paired with the more peaceful story of Ephesian συγγένεια. Both stories highlight the fact that it was possible for a city to start out with a non-Ionian identity and to become Ionian. Becoming Ionian was not just restricted to Smyrna either.⁶⁶ As we

question, the Colophonians had the deciding vote, as they had taken in Smyrnaeans who had come to live with them (Σμυρναίους γὰρ ἐλθόντας εἶχον συνοίκους), and therefore could claim to vote on the Smyrnaeans’ behalf. This suggests an inversion of the more common Colophon–Smyrna story, and does not seem to have any earlier precedents than the *Suda*.

⁶⁵ Ephesus and Smyrna minted a coin to celebrate their alliance during the reign of the Roman emperor Domitian. The coin featured the image of the two eponymous Amazons clasping hands in friendship: Head and Poole 1892, nos. 408–10. See also Franke and Nollé 1997: 23ff.

⁶⁶ Although writing after our period, Pausanias (7.3.10) notes that Phocaea also ‘became’ Ionian. We have already discussed Pausanias’ claim that the Phocaeans were not Ionians, but migrated from Phokis. In this passage, he also describes how the Ionians would not allow the Phocaeans to join the League until they accepted Ionian leaders. By accepting Ionian Codrid kings, it seems that the whole city of Phocaea became ‘naturalised’ as Ionian.

have already seen in [Chapter 5](#), Ion of Chios seems to suggest that Chios too became Ionian at a particular point in its history, rather than being Ionian in any essential way. In the case of Chios, becoming Ionian seems to have been the outcome of a deliberate choice, a political decision made by the Chian king to join with the Ionians in their League based at the Panionion. There seem to have been no ethnic or cultural factors precipitating their entry into the League. This freely chosen initiation into the Ionian collective was not quite the case for Smyrna, however. In neither of the traditions do the Smyrnaeans choose to become Ionian. Unlike the story of Chios, both of these traditions state that the Smyrnaeans are genealogically linked to the other Ionians, being descended from either Colophonians or Ephesians. In contrast to the self-made decision of the Chians, these stories place Smyrna in a position of dependence and weakness. Smyrna owes its position amongst the Ionians not to its own actions or choice, but rather the actions of others. The relationship between Smyrna and Colophon/Ephesus is not one of parity but rather the asymmetrical relationship between a mother-city and its colony. Smyrna, then, does not seem to have become Ionian on equal terms with the previous twelve cities.

What do these stories imply about the process of becoming Ionian? It was clearly possible to do so, as the cases of Chios and Smyrna illustrate. However, the different treatment accorded to the two *poleis* requires further explanation. Chios was allowed to enter into the Ionian collective with little or no stigma, becoming a full member of the League and being widely considered as a 'proper' Ionian city. It is implied in at least two foundation traditions that Smyrna, on the other hand, joined the Ionian collective almost with the status of a second-class citizen. The stories of it becoming Ionian vary, casting its inhabitants either as colonists from Ephesus or as devious tricksters thrown out of Colophon. While one of these stories is decidedly more flattering than the other, neither places Smyrna in a position of parity with its fellows in the League. Smyrna's ambiguous position amongst the Ionians is therefore very different from that of Chios.

The difference between Smyrna and Chios may be due to the different dates of their entry into the collective. Chios is likely to have joined the League considerably earlier than Smyrna did, so that in the classical period the Chian initiation may have seemed a distant legend in comparison to the fresher memories of Smyrna's request for membership. But the nature of the surviving texts may also play a part in the different impressions we are given of the two cities' positions in the League. The only contemporary source for Chios joining the Ionians was written by a Chian poet and philosopher, Ion. As discussed in [Chapter 5](#), Ion was both well travelled and politically engaged,

and was on good personal terms with some of the leading political and cultural figures of his day. He carefully positioned Chios in relation to Athens and to Athenian ideas about political power and rulership, as we have already seen. But he also seems to have positioned his polis carefully in relation to the rest of Ionia as well. We are told explicitly that Ion gives no reason why the Chians should be thought of as Ionian, and no reason why they were compelled to become Ionian (Paus 7.4.10). Instead, becoming Ionian seems to happen almost on the whim of the Chian king at the time. We are told that the idea to join with the Ionians simply pops into Hector's mind: 'it came into Hector's mind to join in sacrificing to the god with the Ionians at the Panionion' (ἀφικέσθαι τηνικαῦτα ἐς μνήμην Ἑκτορι ὡς σφᾶς καὶ Ἰωσι δέοι συνηθεῖν ἐς Πανιώνιον: *FGrHist* 392 F1). By telling this story, Ion has manoeuvred the Chians into a position of strength vis-à-vis the other Ionians.

The stories told about Smyrna joining the League offer a different picture, partly because of who wrote them and why. None of the authors who discussed the story were themselves from Smyrna. Mimnermus was a Colophonian, and it was in the interests of his city to cast the Smyrnaeans as being beholden to them. Similarly with Callinus, whose home town of Ephesus also stood to benefit from claiming that Smyrna was their colony. Herodotus may not have had any civic interest himself in depicting Smyrna as a Colophonian outpost, but it seems likely that he was repeating an earlier story (perhaps drawing from Mimnermus directly). What we may be reading in these tales may therefore not reflect the general attitude of all Ionians towards Smyrna. Instead, they may be the traces of inter-city rivalry between the Ionians, where Ephesians and Colophonians vied to get one over on each other and on Smyrna. The image we have been left with of Smyrna's ambiguous status may therefore be partly to do with the nature of the surviving sources. We should not be surprised if stories told by authors from other cities suggest these cities' superiority over Smyrna. This mythic jostling for position seems to have been a more widespread practice amongst the Ionian cities.

For example, Hecataeus seems to have suggested that Chios had been founded by Erythrae (Χίος κατὰ Ἐρυθράς· ἐν δὲ πόλις Χίος: *FGrHist* 1 F141). Chians, of course, are unlikely to have favoured this version of their origins, and it seems that they may have used foundation myths once more to claim that it was they who were responsible for the founding of other Ionian cities, rather than the other way around. Indeed, Ion of Chios used the figure of Oinopion to position Chios as a *metropolis* for Teos. He listed Athamas as one of the sons of Oinopion, the *oikist* of Chios and the bringer of the vine (*FGrHist* 395 F1). As Athamas was generally considered to be one of the

founders of Teos (e.g. Pherecydes *FGrHist* 3 F102), in his poem Ion would have subtly established the seniority of his own polis over Teos.⁶⁷ Similarly, as the figure of Oinopion could be elided with that of Oineus, Ion may also have been claiming Chios' seniority over Samos as well. Oineus was said to be the great-grandfather of the eponymous Samos (as well as the father-in-law of the eponymous Samia), according to the Samian writer Asius (F7 *GEF*; see [Chapter 5](#) for the passage). The subtext of Ion's writings, then, implies that Chios was responsible for the founding of both Samos and Teos.⁶⁸ The Teians, in their turn, may have told a story about them helping to establish Ephesus. Ephorus reported a story that there was *stasis* within the city of Ephesus, causing Androclus' sons to beg help from the people of Teos and Karene against a faction from their own city (Ephorus *FGrHist* 70 F126).⁶⁹

The stories of Ionian cross-foundations, conflicts and conquests multiply when we consider texts written after the classical period. Of course, we can never be sure that these myths were in circulation in our time period, but it remains possible that the stories were much older than the texts in which they are preserved. Pausanias, for example, tells the story of how the city of Clazomenae was founded from Colophon (7.3.8–9). But perhaps the most dramatic example of this was the relationship between Samos and Ephesus. We have already discussed the story told by Malakos, claiming that Ephesus was founded by runaway slaves from Samos (*FGrHist* 552 F1). In direct contradiction to this, the opposite story is told by Pausanias. According to this tale, Samos was conquered by the Ephesians, ruled by the Ephesian king Androclus, and the Samians were driven out to Samothrace (7.2.2–3 and 8). There were clearly two foundation traditions in circulation – one in which Samos claimed to have founded Ephesus and the other where Ephesus claimed to have conquered Samos and to have brought it within the Ionian fold. It is obvious how such stories may have come about – tension between the two cities could easily have found expression in myths that placed one's home city in a position of dominance over that of one's rival. Indeed, returning to the passage of Herodotus examined in [Chapter 4](#) of this book (1.146), we find hints of this inter-Ionian squabbling as well. Some Ionians, Herodotus tells us, pretend to be 'more Ionian' than the others. In the context of all we have seen about Ionian infighting, perhaps being 'more

⁶⁷ For a full account of this argument, see Olding 2007.

⁶⁸ It is possible that this argument was also made more explicitly in the main text of Ion's *Chiou Ktisis* as well, or in his elegiac poetry. Given the fragmentary nature of his corpus, we may never know.

⁶⁹ This Karene may be the same place as the 'Karion' of the Prienean dispute inscription – i.e. the city of Melie. This would support the idea of Melie as an Ionian settlement, closely linked by heroic genealogies and alliances to other Ionian cities.

Ionian' might not necessarily mean being of purer blood, as most modern commentators have assumed. Perhaps you could make yourself 'more Ionian' by getting one over on each other, claiming primacy, and establishing superiority over your fellow Ionians.⁷⁰

These tales of conquest and counter-conquest are more than simply the results of competing mythic traditions promoting the claims of rival cities. They strike at the heart of what it meant to be Ionian – the beating and bloodied heart of Ionian identity. More generally, it has been remarked that the polis system itself is one based on competition and rivalry, and that the *poleis* of archaic and classical Greece were almost continually locked in conflict and warfare.⁷¹ This conflict was not an exceptional occurrence, causing the cessation of contact and interaction. Rather, it was one means of engaging with each other – a form of interaction, alongside trade, inter-marriage, diplomacy etc. Under theories of peer polity interaction, there is equal place for both violent and non-violent interaction.⁷² In the archaic period in particular, the ideology of competition applied to both individuals and states. There was a 'culture of competition', and the archaic period has even been characterised as an age of the 'agonal man'.⁷³ Athletes competed with each other for victory at various games, both within an individual polis and between different *poleis*. Rich rewards were accorded to the victors – not only in material terms, but also in terms of honour and reputation. Monuments in bronze, stone and words were raised to their glory, from the statues dedicated by victors at Olympia or at any number of local sanctuaries, to the victory odes of Pindar and Bacchylides. Dancers, musicians and rhapsodes also competed against each other. Cities and groups of peoples vied against each other too, not only on the battlefield, but also in competitive dedications at major Panhellenic sanctuaries such as Delphi and Olympia, often building impressive monuments with the spoils of their victories over other Greek states or even dedicating the actual physical spoils

⁷⁰ Strife and conflict may also have been a feature of Panyassis' version of the Ionian Migration. In one of the fragments attributed to the *Ionika*, Panyassis comments: 'when there was a divided argument, the leader of the people regretted it' (διχθάδιός ποτε μῦθος; ἄναξ μετεμέβλετο λαῶν: Panyassis, *Ionika* fr.29 Matthews). It is not certain what his strife may have been, or to whom it may have related, however. Of course, strife is a feature of many foundation myths, often explaining why *oikists* left their home cities in order to found new ones.

⁷¹ Van Wees 2004.

⁷² See Snodgrass 1986 for the application of a 'peer polity interaction' approach to the Greek *poleis*. For 'peer polity interaction' more generally, see other chapters in Renfrew and Cherry 1986.

⁷³ Fisher 2009 for the 'culture of competition' and the 'agonal man'. For the iconography of conflict and violence as interaction in the central Mediterranean, see Dougherty 2003. For other discussions of conflict and competition in early Greece, see the other chapters in Dougherty and Kurke 2003, and also van Wees 1992 and 2000.

of these wars. The motif of groups of people competing against each other – for resources, territory, women – appears regularly in both the literary and visual records. Homeric poetry, epinician poetry and scenes on decorated pottery celebrated not just competition in general, but violent conflict in particular.⁷⁴

Fighting, conflict and violence were therefore a fundamental part of how all archaic and classical Greek *poleis* interacted with each other. However, I would argue that this was particularly true of the Ionians of Ionia, and, perhaps more importantly, they made an explicit point of this. The stories of mutual aggression leading to the founding of Samos and Ephesus mentioned above are examples of this inter-Ionian conflict, said to have happened in the EIA. Later, but at some stage before the seventh century, the Milesians and the Chians are also said to have fought a war together against the Erythraeans, creating a close alliance between the two which was said to have held strong when Miletus was attacked by the Lydians (Hdt 1.18). In the classical period, the inscription from Priene discussed above referred to a long-running territorial dispute between Priene and Samos. It seems that this dispute was actually part of a longer and wider-ranging war in the fifth century that also involved Miletus fighting on the side of Priene (Thuc 1.115). In addition, another territorial war is also recorded between the Chians and the Erythraeans (Polyaenus 8.66.1; Plutarch, *Moralia* 242.39), and Miletus was said to have fought an ongoing war with Myus, with regular truces and third parties, including Persian satraps, being brought in to arbitrate (RO no. 16; Aristaenetos, *Epistles* 1.15). Teos and Clazomenae were also pitted against each other in a territorial dispute, where arbitration by the Koans was necessary (SEG 28, no. 697). Smyrna went as far as to memorialise a famous victory over Chios in its ritual calendar (Aelius Aristides Or. 17.6 and 23.4).

Fighting amongst the Ionians was a regular occurrence, and while conflict is one amongst many possible modes of interaction, it seems to have been a particularly common one amongst the Ionians of Ionia.⁷⁵ Stories abounded of Ionian cities conquering and even founding other Ionian cities. This infighting and jostling for position seems to have been a fundamental

⁷⁴ Indeed, it has been suggested that in the archaic period, literary texts sometimes exaggerated violence to play to the expectations of the genre and increase pathos. Violence was therefore a trope as well as a commonality. See Mariaud 2012.

⁷⁵ The idea of communities forged in conflict has also been discussed in ethnographic anthropology. For example, Abu-Lughod (1994) has described areas of twentieth-century New York where communities came together because of disagreement and conflict. The interaction resulting from this created shared experiences and history.

characteristic of the Ionian collective – so much so that it defined the very beginning of the collective itself. Amidst all this conflict, we have only one clear example of the Ionian cities working coherently together in agreement. This was in bringing about the conclusion of the Melian War and the creation of the Ionian League itself. The war had been an internecine one, where Ionian city was pitted against Ionian city and where it seems that one of their number was completely destroyed. However, to effect a conclusion to the conflict and to bring peace, the Ionians needed to work together to agree terms and the drawing of territorial boundaries. It is significant that the only time the Ionians could come together was in such a context. Their very unity was forged in internecine warfare. Being Ionian, therefore, meant squabbling with other Ionians. As Crielaard has put it: ‘the East Ionian cities found friends *and* foes first and foremost amongst their own kind’ (original emphasis).⁷⁶ The Ionian League was a fight club – it served to control and regulate the conflict between its members. Kowalzig describes the situation adroitly, saying that it allowed the Ionian cities to keep ‘a close check on one another’.⁷⁷

It is also significant that from the archaeological remains of the various Panionion sites, warfare and competition seems to have been a feature of the Panionion cult. In the archaic temple on Çatallar Tepe, the western room that seems likely to have been used for League meetings was festooned with the trophies of war. Armour, weapons and even a bronze corselet hung from its walls, setting the tone for any meeting that would have been conducted within it.⁷⁸ The finds from this room suggest that it was used for drinking and other sympotic activities, so that ritual here would have been closely bound up with the competitive world of the aristocratic symposium.⁷⁹ Any activity here would therefore have been conducted amidst the spoils of war and the paraphernalia of sympotic rivalry – the perfect setting for meetings of the quarrelsome Ionian League. Roughly around the same time as the temple on Çatallar Tepe was destroyed, in the early–mid-sixth century BC,

⁷⁶ Crielaard 2009: 57–60. Thonemann 2011: 29 also highlights the normality of warfare between the Ionian cities. Metcalfe highlights the high levels of conflict amongst the Ionian cities in the Hellenistic period, and concludes that a sense of Ionian collectivity operated despite this tension, working on a different level from polis identity (2005, chapter 5). This is in contrast to my argument here, which suggests that a sense of Ionian collectivity operated partly *because of* this tension.

⁷⁷ Kowalzig 2005: 54.

⁷⁸ A similar argument has been made for the Panhellenic sanctuary of Olympia. The very events that brought the Greek *poleis* together were staged in a place decorated with the trophies of inter-polis fighting and the spoils of Greek-on-Greek warfare. See Nielsen 2007: 20–1.

⁷⁹ It has been suggested for other archaic Ionian sites that there may have been little or no distinction between the cultic and the sympotic. See Baughan 2011 on the sculpted symposiasts at several sanctuary sites, notably the Heraion on Samos, but also at Miletus and Myus.

there seems to have been some activity on the fortified acropolis of the ruined settlement on Kale Tepe. A dedication was inscribed into the fortification wall, committing the safety of the walls into the hands of either 'bronze-clad heroes' or 'brazen images of men', depending on the reconstruction of the text (lines 2–3).⁸⁰ In either case, this acropolis, which must in some way have been connected with the Panionion complex, was placed under the divine protection of heroised armed warriors, with their description as brazen or bronze-clad recalling the vocabulary of epic and of heroic combat. The ethic of heroic competition and conflict was still a crucial part of how the Ionians conceptualised the sacred landscape around the Panionion. Finally, in later times it seems that the competitive and combative nature of the League was enshrined in the establishment of games as part of the Panionia festival. Inter-Ionian competition became not just a side-show – it was the fundamental principle underlying the Ionian League.

Ionian identity was complex and multifaceted, and also seems to have changed over time. There is no single criterion that made a city Ionian, and which guaranteed its membership of the Ionian collective. Ethnicity and geography were both crucial elements, but they were not sufficient in themselves to ensure membership of the collective. Indeed, the idea of shared descent through the Ionian Migration was undermined by several eastern Aegean authors themselves. Instead, local mythic traditions suggested a variety of different civic origins, and often plural origins, for each individual city. As well as ethnic and geographical components to Ionian identity, an ideal of joint political and religious activity was also important. However, this often remained at the level of the ideal, and actual joint action was relatively rare. One other important aspect of Ionian collective identity, it has been argued here, is conflict. Conflict was at the heart of the mythical tradition of the Melian War – the myth that explained the foundation of the Ionian League itself. Conceptually and ideologically, conflict was the League's founding principle. But inter-Ionian conflict seems to have been a regular part of archaic and classical life, as well as of the foundation tradition. Infighting, disputes and one-upmanship seem to have characterised inter-Ionian relations for much of this period. Being Ionian, it seems, necessarily involved taking part in inter-Ionian conflict and competition.

⁸⁰ Kleiner et al. 1967: 127–33. The text either reads *χάλκεον ἦρωα* or *χάλκεον ἀνδριάντα*, although the excavators consider *ἦρωα* to be more likely.

The Ionians of Ionia lived in hybrid and plural societies for as far back as our sources can tell. Over the course of the archaic and classical periods, however, these societies came under pressure. Part of this pressure was political and military: the expansionist states of Persia, Athens and Sparta all tried to impose their authority on the region, with differing degrees of success. But it was also ideological. A new model of cultural difference was emerging in Greek political discourse that categorised the world in terms of binary opposites: Europe and Asia, Greek and Barbarian, male and female. This model never held absolute sway in the Greek world – it took time to develop gradually, and remained debated and contested throughout classical antiquity. In addition, the definitions of each of the binary pairs were themselves a matter of disagreement, and a uniform consensus never seems to have emerged. Nonetheless, this oppositional model did still gain ground over the course of the classical period in particular, and became especially dominant in the political rhetoric of classical Athens. The various binary pairs became conceptually interlinked, strengthening the overall model of opposition and creating a network of mental associations which informed social meaning. The continents of Europe and Asia, in particular, came to be gendered, racialised and politicised, so that they eventually stood for not just geographical distinctions but also types of people or ways of life. These new emerging ideas presented something of an ideological quandary to the Ionian cities. To which side did they belong: Europe or Asia? Were they freedom-loving, manly Greeks, or servile, effeminate Barbarians? The answers to these questions have practical as well as conceptual implications. They would have signalled allegiances and policies at a particularly unstable period of the region's history. The ideological pressure that the cities of Ionia must have come under at the time is therefore considerable.

This book has considered one way in which the Ionian cities positioned themselves (and were positioned by others) both politically and ideologically. Foundation myths were often used as a means of such positioning in antiquity, and they would have been valuable tools for the negotiation of identities at this crucial time. In this book, we have seen how stories about Ionian origins were used by other groups in order to place the Ionians

conceptually within the emerging oppositional framework. In particular, the promotion of the myth of the Ionian Migration by Athenian and pro-Athenian authors would have positioned the Ionians squarely within the ideological category of the free-spirited European Greeks. As the offspring of migrants from Athens, the Ionian dodecapolis could be said to belong straightforwardly to the Western world of the Delian League. However, this version of Ionian origins was not universally embraced.

The surviving evidence for the Ionians' own perspective on their foundation myths is limited. The works of some Ionian authors from the archaic and classical periods have survived, although mostly in fragments. Perhaps also relevant is the work of other authors from neighbouring Anatolian cities not included in the Ionian dodecapolis. But of equal significance with this literary material is the evidence for social practices and the public reception of foundation myths within these cities. Drawing from a range of different sources, it is therefore possible to gain a sense of how the Ionians themselves may have constructed their past. This local perspective suggests a different outlook from that of the orthodox Athenian narrative. The Ionians do not seem to have seen themselves as being *either* Greek *or* Barbarian, *either* European *or* Asian. Instead, they seem to have constructed their past with a greater sense of fluidity and ambiguity. Instead of black and white, they paint in varying shades of grey, undermining the binary codes that others sought to place upon them. Foundation myths were used to play down the distinction between Greek and Barbarian, as we saw at Miletus in [Chapter 4](#). Stories that might initially appear to highlight this distinction actually functioned to blur and even dismiss completely the notion of the distinction. Cultural difference was portrayed as complex and ambiguous, rather than straightforward and clear-cut. In [Chapter 5](#), we found that foundation myths were used on the island *poleis* of Chios and Samos to similar effect. The notion of strict and polarised cultural differences is rejected in favour of non-exclusive narratives of cultural belonging. Links are made both eastwards and westwards, and most crucially connection is made with the land itself. Stories of belonging and foundation on Chios and Samos were, more than anything, concerned with rooting themselves firmly in the landscape. Where people had once come from was not so important. What was more significant was the place where they were now, and their relationship with the landscape. In [Chapter 6](#) we also saw how foundation myths were used to play on gender roles and expectations, using these as a means to reflect subtly on the prevailing ideology of cultural opposition. At Colophon, the figure of a female founder seems to have been popular due to local traditions, despite the prevailing ideology that linked Barbarian

Easterners with effeminacy. And at Ephesus, this ideology may even have been deliberately flouted with a mythical association with the ultimate anti-Athenians, the Amazons.

Finally, in the previous chapter we have seen how stories about a shared past, rather than foundation myths *per se*, were used to articulate a sense of collective Ionian identity amongst the Ionian cities. The myth of a unified Codrid migration from Athens was widely known and popular in later periods, and indeed still is in modern scholarship. However, it seems that many Anatolian-born authors wrote about this myth in a way that served to complicate the narrative, and to question the dominant role of Athens in the standard versions of the myth. For Ionian writers, a Codrid foundation did not necessarily mean a privileged connection to Athens, or even to Ionians more generally in the western Aegean. Being Ionian in Ionia was clearly far more complicated than merely subscribing to a shared myth of common descent. We have seen that it was conceptually possible to *become* Ionian, and to join the Ionian League. Conquest by Ionians was indeed a reason cited for a city entering the League, as in the case of Smyrna, but then so was the whim of a non-Ionian ruler, as in the case of Chios. The commonality holding together the Ionian cities as a collective does not, then, seem to have been based exclusively on an idea of shared origins. It is beyond the remit of this book to consider what did indeed lie at the heart of Ionian collective identity in the archaic and classical periods. Nonetheless, one point has emerged out of the enquiries presented here. It seems that the Ionians were bound together, not by harmonious interactions or mutual goodwill, but rather by tension, rivalry and conflict. While this is to some extent true of Greeks more generally, it seems to have been particularly true of the Ionian cities. Conflict was a crucial means of interaction, and a way of constructing both shared pasts and futures. I do not argue that this was the only factor holding together the Ionian collective, as a myriad of other issues are also clearly relevant. Factors such as language and ideas about ethnic descent have usually been identified as central to Ionian identity in previous scholarship. I would argue that while these other factors may indeed have some relevance, they were not primary elements in the mix. Instead, I would suggest that competition and rivalry were major contributing factors to a sense of Ionian collectivity. The Ionian League, and the collective identity shared by the Ionians in Ionia, made full use of these conceptual fruits of conflict.

But what of the Ionians beyond Ionia? Throughout this book, I have focused almost exclusively on the Ionian cities in Anatolia, and the region that was called Ionia. However, groups living in Attica, the Cyclades and

Euboea were also part of the wider Ionian *ethnē*. In addition, there were communities across the Mediterranean and the Black Sea that traced their foundation from one of the Ionian cities of Ionia, and also themselves claimed an Ionian identity. The issue of how these groups related to a sense of overall Ionian-ness, and that of how the Ionians of Ionia related to these groups, is beyond the remit of this book. But they are relevant questions, and must necessarily have an impact on the ways in which Ionians in Ionia thought about themselves. As a Hellenic *ethnos*, we would usually consider the word 'Ionian' to refer to a loose grouping within the wider Hellenic umbrella, based around putative kinship linking back to the figure of the eponymous Ion.¹ The term 'Ionian' itself is an old one, with a version of the name being used as early as the LBA in two Linear B tablets from Knossos, and a similar term being used not much later by Ramesses II in a list of defeated peoples on his temple in Luxor.² The name also appears in the *Iliad* (13.685) and the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (lines 147–55) as well as Neo-Assyrian and Levantine documents from the ninth, eighth and seventh centuries.³ The concept of the Ionians has a long history, and it is still unclear what exactly the term might have meant for the different people who used it at various points in time. The Ionian-ness of the Ionian cities during the archaic and classical periods is but one small part of the picture.

I would like to conclude this book by bringing us back to the way that the Ionian cities used their foundation myths. These stories present a far more complex and nuanced picture than has hitherto been thought. Ideas about the past were used to shape the identities of individual cities and the Ionians as a whole in the contemporary present. There is no single narrative, no one original story or fundamental historical truth from which all the myths can be said to have sprung. Instead, the plurality and diversity of the strands constitute a sophisticated discourse. More can be learnt from this foundation discourse taken as a complete, complex and convoluted whole than may be gleaned by examining any single foundation myth in isolation. The story of the Ephesian colonisation of Samos gains meaning in relation to the myth of the Samian colonisation of Ephesus. The competing claims of the Ephesians and the Colophonians on Smyrna offer us a bigger picture when seen in relation to each other. The tale of Amazons founding the temple at Ephesus draws significance from the idea that Ephesus was

¹ For the subtle distinction between an *ethnos* and a *genos* (the latter specifically relating to a notion of putative descent), and a discussion of the construction of *genos* identity, see Hall 1997.

² See the Knossos Linear B tablets KN B 164 and KN XD 146.4 (Chadwick et al. 1987–99).

³ See Kuhrt 2002 for Near Eastern sources on the Ionians, and Crielaard 2009: 41–4 for a summary of the use of the term 'Ionian'.

simultaneously the seat of the Codrid Ionian kings descended from Androclus. The myth of the Ionian Migration led by Athens should be read alongside the stories of Anatolian autochthons and migrants from Crete, Thebes, Messenia and elsewhere. It is only by considering these myths together that we get a sense of the wider discourse of Ionian foundation – a discourse which in its totality describes the Ionian cities much better than any single story on its own.

If one overarching message does emerge from the Ionian foundation discourse – one conclusion drawn, one lesson learnt – it is that Anatolian Greeks did not subscribe to the oppositional model of cultural difference. It seems that the Ionians and their neighbours in western Anatolia did not use their foundation myths to categorise themselves as either European or Asian, Greek or Barbarian, Western or Eastern. Instead, this polarised model of cultural difference seems to have been rejected in favour of plurality, complexity and ambiguity.⁴ As the archaic period opened, ideas about cultural difference in the Greek world were still in formation and varied from polis to polis. But as the archaic period gave way to the classical, concepts of cultural opposition began to emerge, especially in the political rhetoric and public discourse of Athens. The spread of Athenian hegemony in the fifth century only served to promote these ideas more widely, and by the early fifth century the Ionians found themselves contested both politically and ideologically. They were caught ‘between’ – occupying an indeterminate zone in practical as well as in conceptual terms. However, it does not seem that the Ionians saw themselves as living on a disputed border, a territory to be claimed by one side or the other. Instead, the people of Ionia asserted their independence – not just from the larger states that controlled them, but also from the conceptual framework that categorised them as being eternally ‘between’. Indeed, by the end of the classical period in the fourth century, Ionian authors may even have used foundation myths deliberately and actively to undermine the orthodox view.

Edward Said chose to locate the birth of Orientalism in classical Greece, citing Athenian drama and rhetoric as evidence for an ideology of cultural opposition. While this ideology may have operated in classical Athens, it was not universally upheld throughout what we now think of as the Greek

⁴ This also seems to have been true of the way foundation myths and myths of heroes were used elsewhere in the archaic and classical periods, especially in the central Mediterranean. Myth was a means of connecting Greeks and non-Greeks, rather than of creating cultural oppositions. See Gehrke 2005 and Erskine 2005 for this point. It could be argued that the Ionian cities went one step further than this: they actively sought to undermine cultural opposition.

world. It is evident from the case of Ionia that many Greek *poleis* did not share in Athens' proto-Orientalising tendencies. We now take categories such as Europe and Asia, East and West, for granted. It is often assumed that these categories are timeless and universal, and that we have inherited them from antiquity. However, the Ionian foundation myths demonstrate that this is not the case. At their very genesis, these categories were disputed, contradicted, and even ignored. By looking at the Ionian foundation myths of the archaic and classical period, we are reminded of just how fragile our classification schemes are.

As the twenty-first century progresses, and as our world becomes increasingly polarised around lines of wealth, race and religion, there is much that we can potentially learn from the Ionian foundation myths. We live in a world where the Athenian model of cultural difference is once again gaining ground, and has become a much wider phenomenon than simply the ethnic and cultural oppositionism identified by Said in *Orientalism*. The rhetoric of Us and Them is increasingly applied to other social issues, such as religious fundamentalism or income inequality, and it is a rhetoric that is growing ever more shrill. These Ionian myths are a vivid illustration that an alternative to this oppositionism was once proposed – an alternative that privileged plurality over polarity, which encouraged a subtler, richer and more colourful understanding of the world.

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